

Albert BARNETT

Charlatan Preachers Intone: "Come My Lambs And Lay It On The Table"

A YOUNG COLLEGE GRAD the 'pastor,' who chanted: 'Thank JATE, now studying for the min you, son, the Lord will Bless stry, is greatly disturbed over you.' prospects for the future of his chosen profession.

Hearing and reading about the religious charlatans' who each year mulct-millions of dollars, from coast to coast, from ignorant, sensation-loving and emotional 'congregations,' this student wants to know how it is that these blatant 'apostles of the gospel' can reap the harvest when all they have sown is a lot of balloney.'

The student, Lee Murielle Daniels, received his primary and secondary education in Atlanta, for the satisfaction of your his birthplace, then came North Soul and the Glory of Christ. Before his degree. Young Daniels, a cause I, the leader of my flock, am six-footer, brown of skin and a looking down on you and picking strict observer of all the social out the sheep from the goats. and religious emenities writes, in Come, my Lambs. And now, as part, as follows:

"I want to preach the gospel sing: 'We'll Understand It Better of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Bye and Bye.'

Christ. I want to be ordained by Divinity student Daniels con- a Christian denomination, recog- nized by the National Council my, but a sad reflection on the of the Churches of Christ in the intelligence of our people. And U.S.A., and I want to pastor a on the very next day, Monday, church, which has the respect and this same 'leader of his flock,' was seen at the pari-mutuel win-

"I have a wife and two children, and, as Archibald Alexander once said: 'All my theology is reduced to this narrow compass, "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners."

"I have made a quiet, but thorough, survey of some of these 'unorthodox,' but well patronized churches, all over the country, where the 'pastors' either wink at or openly encourage gambling and playing of the numbers racket, commonly called 'policy.' In one instance, a communicant played the numbers of the hymn selection 5-9-55. Next day, the 'numbers' choicest of hors d'oeuvres, stuff- ed \$480. He kept the \$400. then, the following Sunday 'dropped \$80 dent concludes: "I am not enter- on the long, front table, before ing the ministry for financial

gain. I am, of course, a practical man want to support my family comfortably, though not lavishly.

"I feel like a doctor who works diligently and gains the respect of his community without cashing in unduly on his medical skill. Such a doctor must be sickened by the 'quacks' who operate unscrupulously — piling up the money and bringing shame on his profession.

"All I want is a chance to serve God's children and make a contribution to the ministry.

"Remember, Mr. Columnist, the words of Colton, and if you dare, pass them on to these charlatans: 'Where TRUE RELIGION has prevented one crime, FALSE RELIGIONS have afforded PRE-

TEXT FOR A THOUSAND'

Albert BARNETT

Lincoln Univ. (Pa.) Claims Title As 'Oldest Negro University'

COMPETITION FOR THE DISPUTED TITLE "Oldest Negro University" was given marked impetus recently when Lincoln university, Pennsylvania, presented new evidence in support of its claim for the high honor.

Lincoln's age-old competitor is, of course, Wilberforce university, Ohio's famed school, which has a distinguished heritage in the educational field.

Both Lincoln and Wilberforce, however, are trailing other colleges and universities throughout the country in student enrollment. According to a recent release from the office of Herbert S. Conrad, chief, research and statistical standards section of the Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, the enrollment for this year at Wilberforce is 304, at Lincoln U. (Pa.), 283.

It's interesting to note the two "Tops" among the nation's Negro schools of higher learning. Howard university, in the Capital City, with an enrollment of 3,598, tops to records of the time, were two Presbyterian minister, the Rev. John Miller Dickey, who exactly stitutions, while Southern univer- with an "X," because they could one century ago, preached a ser- mon in which his prophetic final Wilberforce continued under estimate of the future for the Methodist Episcopal control until African people, was 'Kindle the

1862, when, because of the Civil lamp of religious knowledge; it War, "Southern slaveholders were will surely light them to an ele- unable further to provide funds for vated position, social and civil, education of their mulatto chil- among the people of the earth." dren."

"First African to become Prime Minister of his country, is Dr. African Methodism came into control the next year (1863), when Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne—Coast—trained in both the under- small in physique, but a tower of graduate school and seminary of strength—purchased the school Lincoln university, Pa."

Now comes Lincoln university (Pa.) presenting proof of its claim to being the oldest Negro university. A Lincoln U. release, states:

"Lincoln university, now making plans for celebration of its 100th birthday in 1954, skirted the final hurdle in its claim to being the first institution in the world chartered to give higher academic degrees to persons of African descent, following a recent visit to the Gold Coast in West Africa, of Lincoln President Dr. Horace Mann Bond.

"Bond, who reports that he received the conclusive proof quite accidentally at an informal gathering of University College staff members in Achimota, Gold Coast,

But, back to Lincoln and Wilberforce. Present day Wilberforce can has just returned to America fol- trace its origin to a group of min lowing a survey of West African

church who had the vision and courage to attempt the establish- "Bond said that of the com- ment of an institution of higher petitors for the honor, one college learning for Negroes. As far back had never granted degrees; and as 1854 and 1855, meetings were the two others, while having been held by these stalwarts in Dayton, established prior to Lincoln's Cincinnati and Xenia. In 1856 they founding in 1854, were not qual- were granted a charter from the state of Ohio with the stipulation until 1875 and 1876, respectively.

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It's interesting to note the two "Tops" among the nation's Negro schools of higher learning. Howard university, in the Capital City, with an enrollment of 3,598, tops the list of federally-supported institutions, while Southern university in Louisiana, with 2,626 students, heads the list of state-supported schools.

But, back to Lincoln and Wilberforce. Present day Wilberforce can

trace its origin to a group of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal church who had the vision and courage to attempt the establishment of an institution of higher learning for Negroes. As far back as 1854 and 1855, meetings were held by these stalwarts in Dayton, Cincinnati and Xenia. In 1856 they were granted a charter from the state of Ohio with the stipulation that the university must open its doors to both men and women without precedent at the time, as Negro women had not been admitted to schools of higher learning.

On Dec. 1, 1853, Bond said that of the competitors for the honor, one college had never granted degrees; and the two others, while having been established prior to Lincoln's founding in 1854, were not qualified to grant academic degrees until 1875 and 1876, respectively.

He also pointed out that these latter two institutions were only able at that time to grant their degrees THROUGH ANOTHER INSTITUTION. The source of which cleared up the point for the interested academicians was the University of Durham Register.

"By contrast, Lincoln's first charter, granted in 1854, gave the trustees the right of conferring . . . such literary degrees and academic honors as are usually granted by colleges. . . ."

"Lincoln university, in Chester County, Pa., was founded by a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. John Miller Dickey, who exactly one century ago, preached a sermon in which his prophetic final estimate of the future for the African people, was: 'Kindle the lamp of religious knowledge; it will surely light them to an elevated position, social and civil, among the people of the earth.'

"First African to become Prime Minister of his country, is Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast—trained in both the undergraduate school and seminary of Lincoln university, Pa."

ment, among those signing the articles of incorporation, according to records of the time, were two determined freeholders who signed with an "X," because they could not affix their names.

Wilberforce continued under Methodist Episcopal control until 1862, when, because of the Civil War, "Southern slaveholders were unable further to provide funds for education of their mulatto children."

African Methodism came into control the next year (1863), when Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne—small in physique, but a tower of strength—purchased the school from ME church trustees, for \$10,000, in the name of the African Methodist Episcopal church.

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Bond, who reports that he received the conclusive proof quite accidentally at an informal gathering of University College staff members in Achimota, Gold Coast, has just returned to America following a survey of West African political, economic and educational development.

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Albert BARNETT

Negro Newspaper Week, 1953 Revives Memories Of The Past

AS A FITTING FINALE to the annual observances of Negro History Week and Brotherhood Week, comes Negro Newspaper Week, to be celebrated nationally, from March 15 to 21.

Announcement of the dates for

Newspaper Week, was made at Dillard University, at the close of the Mid-Winter Workshop of the National Newspaper Publishers' association, whose key officials are Louis B. Martin, president; Carl Murphy, vice president and W. O. Walker, secretary.

One of the main commitments at the Workshop, was a contribution of \$500 by NNPA Board of Directors, to the Correspondents' Fund Memorial Building project in Manhattan, to honor war correspondents who lost their lives in the line of duty.

It's a far cry, down through the years, from Russwurm's "Freedom's Journal," to Frederick

Douglas' "North Star," 1862; to Ida B. Wells, Memphis, "Free Press;" 1885; to the "Boston Guardian," 1890, founded by James Monroe Trotter; the "New York Age," founded by T. Thomas Fortune, in 1880; the "Chicago Conservator," 1878, by F. L. Barnett and Abe Hall, publishers, down to the "Chicago Defender," founded in 1905, by the late great Robert S. Abbott and which today, takes top rank as the World's Greatest Weekly.

Under leadership of Mr. Abbott's nephew, John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher, 1-21-53

It's also a far cry from the modest 4-to 8-page weekly of the late '90's and the early 1900's, to the massive, 48-page Chicago Defender of today, replete with headlines and news of general interest; sports pages, stage and theatrical news; the newsy, Billiken section, women's pages with social events; the church, business and community news pages, which in Chicago alone attracts the interest of more than 70,000 subscribers every week.

At the turn of the century, a publisher of a small, one-horse town newspaper of 1,600 or 2,000 circulation would consider him-

Publisher Abbott's philosophy reflected the wisdom of the Chinese savant who knew the art of living and penned this Gem: 'Never give up; when you get to the end of the rope, and feel yourself slipping, TIE A KNOT IN THAT ROPE, AND HANG ON!'

Albert **BARNETTI**

Migratory Farm Laborers Are Poorest Paid Workers In America

PITY THE MIGRATORY FARM
LABORER, for he is the poorest
paid worker in America.

This remarkable conclusion comes as result of a study of a pamphlet "No Work Today," authored by ~~Walter~~ Fuller, former executive secretary of the President's Commission on Migratory labor and published by Manhattan Public Affairs Committee.

Author Fuller states: "The whole system of migratory farm labor in the United States is so chaotic and unsystematic that a balance of supply and demand is rare and unusual."

After considering the status of more than a million migrants — about half of them citizen families, the other half alien males — Fuller concludes that they face two hazards in their effort to eke out a living wage. First, there is the hazard of whether there will be a crop to work. Second, there is always doubt whether the migrant will get the work he expects, even if there is a good crop.

If fact, none of the principals involved seem satisfied with the way the present system works. The migratory worker says it's a highly unsatisfactory way of making a living. The farm employer considers the citizen migratory worker are an uncertain and irresponsible labor supply. Health officials of the various communities state that the seasonal influx of migrants aggravate health problems and overtax health facilities.

The author continues:

"The employment of migrants occurs chiefly in large farm areas or in areas that specialize in growing certain crops such as sugar beets, potatoes or cotton . . . The low wages paid migratory workers amount, in effect, to a subsidy to the kinds of agriculture that use large quantities of labor for short periods."

By far the largest group of migratory workers are Mexicans — on his crew leader, as it's up to either native or American born, the latter to locate and arrange

Negro (Albert Barnett)

Albert **BARNETT**

Negro Workers Help Make Gary 'Steel Capital Of The World'

the work. Homer must next decide whether his family should ride in the crew leader's truck or drive his own jalopy in the crew leader's party. Homer will not enter into any formal contract with his crew leader unless the latter pays for his meals and shelter, in which case he will have to pay the rates charged by the crew leader.

Here's the usual Florida arrangement: the crew leader makes a deal with a farmer to grade and soak his potatoes or to haul produce out of the field, provided the crew leader furnishes a crew of field hands. It is through this arrangement that the crew leader is compensated for his efforts in assembling a crew.

This system helps the Negro migrant find work, but on the other hand he can work only when and where the crew leader is able to make a deal that is of advantage to him. Regardless of its merits, the crew-leader system is deeply entrenched among the Florida Negro migrants.

next come Negroes, Puerto Ricans and natives of Jamaica and the Bahamas'. Author Fuller estimates that about 200,000 Mexican nationals are imported to the U.S. each year under temporary contracts and that more than a half million cross the border illegally to help harvest the various crops.

It's ironical to note, however, that although these hundreds of thousands of seasonal workers are about the most under-privileged in America — they derive little any benefit from legislation aimed at improving the lot of working people — white collar, skilled, unskilled and irate laborers.

Benefits coming to this latter group include farm price supports, minimum wages, protection of the right to organize; government housing, unemployment insurance, old-age and survivors insurance, pension plans, etc. This protection is afforded 'All . . . except farm laborers . . . ' say the Federal statutes. 'Non residents shall be ineligible . . . ' for these labor benefits, say the state and county laws.

Granting labor's protective measures to migrant workers would help solve their basic income problem. "But," says Fuller in his 'No Work Today' pamphlet, "we cannot expect these measures to bring migratory labor in comes to anything like acceptable standards. Only by salvaging some of the vast amount of time now lost in idleness, will the incomes of migrants begin to show marked improvement."

A typical Negro Florida migrant in Varden Fuller's pamphlet is Homer Gaston. In April and May he begins to examine the season's prospects. The stories of fellow migrants, rumors of bumper crops here and there, the rival claims of labor contractors, (or crew leaders) plus his own previous experiences, are about all that Homer can go on.

His first problem is to decide on his crew leader, as it's up to the latter to locate and arrange

OFFICIAL OPENING last week. None of the owners knew who of the Andrew Means Park Manor the final purchaser was to be and in Gary, Ind., focused the attention of the state and nation on one of the fastest-growing Negro communities in America. so nothing could be traced. Judge Gary and Knotts thus acquired full title to more than 12,000 acres and in every respect, were built by Means Developers, Inc., and construction was started on the first building raised to more than 1,000, the blast furnaces.

number of families housed in the Gary area by that firm. Then, months later, as steel production mounted by leaps and bounds, Judge Gary and his associates were faced with the necessity in the mushroom growth of the city of furnishing homes for the workers. So they bought 10,000 acres and the Gary building industry without parallel in world boom started.

history. *beginner* The climax came in the summer of 1906, when, by a shrewd maneuver, Judge Gary had a New York Central freight train as signed to the steel company's acquisition of the site for the plant and the train spotted at Gary mills. *P. 6* place designated by the Judge.

It was Judge Elbert H. Gary, and that spot was at Broadway financial genius and his aides who laid out the strategy for purchase of the site. At that time, in 1905, red letters, the word "Gary," was Judge Gary was president of the United States Steel Corporation and the board of directors was planning on opening up branch mills in the mid-West. City of the World." 25-33

Board members were E. J. Bur-
sington, G. G. Thorpe, K. K. workers to be hired at the mill.
Knapp, Judge Haynie and A. F. and their service as laborers was
Knotts. After lengthy discussion always considered of prime impor-
concerning a desirable site for the tance by plant officials. In 1906
new venture, Judge Gary was when bull-dozer and tractor first
asked his opinion and he suggest- started excavation, a Chicago
ed "that barren land in Indiana, foreman brought 100 Negroes to
at the Southern tip of Lake Michi- Gary. They were mostly trans-
gan, where land was cheap, coal sients, but the following year a
available and lake transportation number came to settle and make
ideal." The directors agreed and their homes near the mills.

Judge Gary was given carte blanche to put the deal through. First Negro to establish a permanent home in Gary was Shepherd King, a carpenter and friend and fellow director, A. F. preacher, who arrived Jan. 1, 1907. Knotts, went into a huddle. They needed 12,000 acres and they had come from Chicago. Duncan's to be bought at a rock-bottom price. The owners of the land can, born in July, 1909, was the first Negro child born in Gary. induced them to give him authority to act as their broker in sale. The first Negro church was organized in 1909, by Sam Duncan.

and Raymond Rankin and the Negro Garyites—just about one-hundred and nine thousand four hundred and twenty-four Negroes in the total population. The Negroes have contributed "Promised Land," grow to its great progress. Today, present position of pre-eminence Gary's total population is about in the steel marts of the world. 35,000 40,000 and there are nearly 35,000

Albert BARNETT

Canada Passes FEPC Law, But Its Scope Is National, Not Local

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT, fortnight ago, passed an FEPC Bill, banning discrimination in employment and trade unions, based on race, religion, or nationality.

But there's a catch to it, because the Dominion Government has jurisdiction over only two major industries—transportation and communication. The Provinces (similar to the States in the U.S.), regulate their own labor relations so, unless each Province passes its own FEPC legislation, there is no great benefit to the average worker, whether skilled or unskilled.

Mr. G. V. Ferguson, editor of the Montreal Star, explained the new Dominion law in a recent article written for the Chicago Sun-Times. Two great segments of the Canadian population—the Jews and French Catholics—got behind the measure and secured its passage. The French-speaking people of Quebec have long contended that British Canadians discriminate against their compatriots in the ten provinces, result being they are denied full representation, both in industry and government. Mr. Ferguson writes:

"The French Canadian never forget that he was here before the British. The conquest of New France by the British in 1759—a conquest always and with strictly accurate legalism called in Quebec 'the cession'—remains a lively memory in Quebec."

"The 70,000 French Catholics of 1759 were quickly overwhelmed by the tide of English-speaking immigrants, but the redoubtable 70,000 have grown to more than four millions. They represent almost one-third of the total population." As for the Jews, it's difficult to explain their position, but the fact remains that Canadians, as a whole, dislike Jews more than they do Negroes. The conclusion, however, is that it is based on religion. This writer, in 1945, toured Canada, and wrote a series of articles for the Chicago Defender,

Jewish population of Canada."

Editor Ferguson is wrong on two counts. Negroes are not Jim Crowed in Canada as they are in the U. S. They can use all public facilities, attend any theatre, eat in plush cafes and restaurants, get first-class accommodations on the trains and steamers and stop at any of the country's top ranking hotels. A far cry from U. S. Jim Crow.

Number two: Negroes will not benefit much from the new FEPC, because it's a Dominion law, of national scope, and does not interfere with laws in the Provinces. If a survey was made of Negro workers in Canada, it would show that they are employed mainly by the Canadian National (government owned), or Canadian Pacific (privately owned) railroads, or their subsidiaries. So, unless these workers can be upgraded—which isn't likely—they won't profit much by the new FEPC law.

Canada has upward of 16,000,000 total population, about 18, or 20 thousand Negroes. The Negro in Canada is "tolerated" rather than mistreated. If he can make it on his own and establish himself in business or in a profession, the average Canadian will patronize him, and in many cases prefer his services to that of a white competitor.

This writer knows at least 10 Negroes in Canada who have become nationally known and independently wealthy in their chosen fields of endeavor. But that's a story within itself. Reams could be written about these pioneers who have left the beaten path and achieved success in a country where Democracy is practised as well as preached.

Religion, then is the only pretext left to explain Canada's dislike for the Jews, evident on every side, even to the casual observer. The peak in bigotry was found at an exclusive club in one of the provinces, where a sign proclaimed: "Jews and dogs not allowed." A few days later, after an expose in the daily papers, the sign was taken down.

Coming back to Editor Ferguson's story in the Chicago Sun-Times, referring to the Negro, North of the Border, he states:

"Canada, unlike the United States, has no major Negro problem, though the few Negroes in the country suffer much the same kind of discrimination as exists across the border. Negroes will, of course benefit from the (FEPC) legislation, but the strength behind the movement has come in the main from the substantial

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Bethune Gives Readers Of Her Column A Real Treat This Week

(The readers of my column will enjoy and be informed through the material in the column this week concerning the life of Lawrence Silas as written by Gail James Vaneer.)

"COW RIDIN' TA HEAVEN"

To swing a \$400,000 land deal or buy \$75,000 worth of cattle in one day would be considered quite an achievement by almost any business man anywhere, but to Lawrence Silas of Kissimmee, it is only another day's work and another evidence of the confidence and respect in which he is held by the cattlemen of the state, and he carries his responsibility as easily and as honestly as he does his sixty-odd years.

The fact that he lives in Florida, the heart of Dixie, makes it almost phenomenal that he, a Negro, is one of the most respected and important men of the cow country.

Although Lawrence Silas can talk in terms of some 15,000 acres of leased and owned land and 1,000 head of fine cattle, it isn't his land nor his cattle interests, his sizeable bank account, not even his skill in handling every phase of the cow business that his business associates think of in connection with Lawrence Silas. But his reputation for honest dealing, his word as gilt-edged as a paper stamped with a notary seal, has made him a man admired and respected by all men alike. His life's Slogan — "I try to deal fair and then a little more," is carried out with the men working under him as well as when he is the one taking orders. For years he has bought and sold cattle for Lykes Brothers, one of the biggest packing outfits, in the world. In 1951, when the

law went into effect he now in a quarter million dollars worth of cattle for the Mormons, his biggest cattle deal. 11

Lawrence Silas comes from a cow family. His father before him

owned over 2,000 head of cattle mouth, is not only an example and several thousand acres of land, but shortly after he died a symbol of Integrity and Strength, this little fortune was swept away and Lawrence had to start from scratch. *Defender*

His schooling consisted of grammar school education taken in stretches of three months at a time. He says of his schooling, 'I'm sorry in a way of speaking'; I needed more schoolin' but when it came my turn the family had a streak of bad luck; I thought about it this way, I had a few cows and I wanted to make a success. *Cherry* I figured to be a doctor or a dentist and I wondered to myself if it would be better to go to college or take my cows. I might get just enough schoolin' for to be a fool and then quit."

So he chose the cows but saw to it that a brother, now a successful practising dentist in Tampa got his schooling, and an auto to boot. A nephew who was formerly associated with him in the cow business got his lift of a car also and three other nephews have had a start in the cow business when he gave each of them stock.

That the Lawrence Silas home is one of wide hospitality with the latchstring always out is best expressed by daughter, Dorothy, who told me, "My mother says she can remember the time when she would cook 40 to 50 dozen biscuits for different cow hands," and it's a rare occasion now when the immediate family sits down to a meal or turns in for the night without a nephew or a niece or grandchildren or some one of kin as part of the family group.

Lawrence Silas has been a member of the Methodist church for 30 years and has served as Trustee. His lodge affiliations have been with Knights of Pythias, where he has held the office of Chancellor Commander.

Courteous and modest in manner and speech, Lawrence Silas, with his ever present big, black cigar in his

of a pictures success story but to run a cattle ranch in Heaven, 'cause that's where I'm goin' some day."

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Bethune Sees Life Work Memorialized On Mother's Day

Mother's Day was one of the most beautiful and significant days of my life. This was true not only because of the tributes which were paid me by my son, grandson, my many children scattered all over the world, friends, and members of the Bethune-Cookman college family, but also because of the opportunity which was afforded me to pay homage to the mothers of the youth of the universe. *Cherry*

On Mother's Day the house in which I have lived for nearly half a century was dedicated as the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation home. This home, which has received thousands of friends and visitors of high and lowly status, is no longer personal property, but henceforth it is dedicated to the ideals for which I have fought and now stand. 5-23-53

As I sat in the lovely garden and listened to the dedication program, I was exceedingly glad that I had been able to realize another dream. The program was presided over by Dr. Richard V. Moore, President of Bethune-Cookman college. The college band, the Bethune-Cookman Choral Ensemble, and a chorus from the Alachua County Training

school provided appropriate music for the occasion.

The opening hymn, "How Firm A Foundation," was a full expression of the Christian basis upon which the college has been built and the guiding light during the years of toil and struggle. Rev. James C. Murray, pastor of Stewart Memorial Methodist church, and Rev. Master J. Wynn, the College Chaplain, read an inspiring dedication ritual.

In speaking to the hundreds of friends and well-wishers seated and standing on the lawn, I attempted to set forth the philosophy behind the Mary McLeod Bethune foundation and the dedication of the home. I have always loved beauty and have wanted beautiful surroundings so that the minds of men will be lifted upward.

The house which was turned over to the Foundation had only two rooms when it was first built. Little by little it was expanded and many friends have made a contribution to this expansion. The ultimate purpose was to have a place where the spirit of Christ would dwell forever.

For a period of half an hour before the dedication program I sat alone in the house thinking about the dark hours of the past

—hours spent with a heavy heart and a back bent under the heavy burden of adversity. This period of meditation was a pleasant one for as I reflected I saw again how faith, hope, and courage had made me victorious in the pursuit of my ideals.

The hour had come for me to turn loose things that are earthly and the dedication of this home will enable rays of light to go further into the dark areas of the earth and bring inspiration and vision to people I cannot reach. Often I have been asked, why give this worldly possession to a foundation instead of keeping it for your family.

I feel that this house is too sacred for any one family; the rays of light must reach many who pass this way. It is hoped that the individuals who see the bed in which I slept, the chair in which I sat, the desk at which I wrote, and the many personal keepsakes will gain inspiration and desire to follow my example. With a deep humility and a gladness that God has used me, I have given this home to a cause which is designed to make the state, the nation, and the world a better place.

The rendition of "Climbing Jacob's Ladder" was consonant with the fifty years of service to the

have sighted a new horizon; the voyage may be long and difficult, but our faith in God and the blending of your efforts will render possible justice, honor, and education for all of the people.

been presented to me for my work in education and interracial relationships. Their handshakes and warm words of congratulations filled me with great delight and caused me to believe that my philosophy "Not For Myself, But For Others," brings a richness unparalleled in human existence.

Men and women of vision, I

Following the dedication I unveiled the bronze plaque to the left of the front door which was presented by the faculty of Bethune-Cookman College. I opened the door to the home of the Foundation and received the hundreds of guests who toured the home and viewed the furnishings, medals, trophies, and diplomas which have

cause of Negro education. Miss Jessie Lowery, a student at Bethune-Cookman College, sang "God Bless This House." Certainly we should invoke the blessings of God for a cause as sacred as this. Through the foundation, scholarships will be granted to keep the ideal and philosophy of my life alive. We will extend our hands around the earth to all who need help.

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Bethune Again Makes Long, Unselfish Journey To Many Places To Help Mankind

I have just returned from a trip which carried me to Little Rock, Ark., Columbus, Ohio and Minneapolis, Minn. I would like to devote the article this week to the purposes and significant achievements of the meetings which I attended.

The Fourth Region of the National Council of Negro Women had an outstanding meeting in Little Rock. During my stay I was the house guest of Dr. and Mrs. J. B. Woods.

In attendance at this meeting were many outstanding women, among them were Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, president of the National Council of Negro Women, Miss Ruth Mueller, past executive secretary, and Miss May, executive secretary. Attorney Margaret Dawson of Washington, D. C., was the leader of the discussion.

In speaking to this group I attempted to point the way to the women assembled for real united effort. Dr. Aurelia Mallory, director of the Fourth Region, under whose auspices this meeting was conducted, is to be complimented for the splendid program which we experienced. I believe that a fine and wise choice was made in recommending Mrs. Knowles to become the next director of the Region.

I was invited to Columbus, Ohio, to be the first speaker in the forum held by Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity. The theme of the forum was "Taking a Look at Our Community, Politically, Economically, Socially and Culturally."

More than 600 individuals, including representatives from Dayton and other cities, were in attendance at the first session. The entire series was conducted on a very high plane and the members of the fraternity are to be complimented for this project.

In speaking to the group I emphasized that the walls are crumbling down. The opportunity for Negroes in America is greater than ever before and in the deepest of the Solid South, stress is

being placed today on preparation and not protest to racial discrimination. It appears to me that the seeds which were sowed went into fertile soil. The feeling lingers with me that courage and vision are constant companions of these strong men of Greekdom. I was most happy to see many of my sorority and fraternal friends and am indebted to Mr. Carter, the director of the YMCA, and his wife whose house guest I was during this delightful stay in Columbus.

In Minneapolis I spoke at luncheon in the Radisson hotel opening a campaign to raise money for the United Negro College Fund for 31 Negro colleges and universities.

I had been invited to give inspiration and to demonstrate what education can do. My big job is to give of my experience — to inspire young people to realize that they can stand on their own feet and do something so that when the doors are opened they will be prepared to enter. The luncheon meeting was well attended, in fact many were turned away.

During my stay, I was the house guest of Mr. and Mrs. John Cowles. Mr. Cowles is the president of the Minneapolis Morning Tribune and an outstanding figure in the world of journalism. At a tea given by Mr. Cowles I met about thirty of the outstanding businessmen of Minneapolis and St. Paul. I attempted to give to them the real purpose of the program of the United Negro College Fund. I believe that their understanding was enlarged and that these efforts will bring forth an abundant harvest.

After giving the best of myself to these causes I have come back to Daytona Beach, Fla., to work for the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation and to write my memoirs.

dat. 5-16-33

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MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Bethune's Profound Advice To All Graduates-Religious Life Basis Of Success

In the next two or three weeks and in order to play your rightful role you must have a thorough understanding of the functioning of the local, state and national government. Closely related to this is the desire for better years of dreaming and planning for the education of youth a feeling of peace and calm engulfs me. The circle for educational opportunity is ever widening. The walls are crumbling rapidly and fall.

I have seen this time come for services of competent individuals more than fifty years and each to discharge the duties of their time a message wells up within offices.

Probably the greatest personal opportunity to enter the gateway of real freedom through education. Stand not afar and see the door merely open, enter and prepare the way

me which seeks an expression. I would like to extend my most responsibility which an individual for an abundant life of service to

sincere congratulations to each of you who should accept is that of realizing you for the success which you "the self." This may be accomplished by keeping one's mind focused upon worthwhile things and the pursuit of lofty ideals. During of your parents and friends who the vacation period or during the have made innumerable sacrifices leisure hours of the day keep your in your behalf. The time is now mind away from evil thoughts. come for you to no longer think Think and dwell upon construction about receiving, instead, you five plans — plans to do good, to should turn your thoughts toward help others and to improve your accepting the wider responsibilities of life. Our nation needs more people who are thinkers and

The first responsibility is that planners of the good life.

of facing squarely the problems I would like to urge you also to which confront you. Life is full of engage in some type of work now problems of various kinds and that the period of preparation has their solutions are necessary in been completed. It matters little order to achieve personal inter-whether the job is one of high or gation and to improve commun- low status. The dignity which you ity living. Don't quit, run away give to the labor and the honesty from the struggle or look to others with which you discharge the duty to fight your battles. Summon ties are the issues of greater importance from the recesses of your soul portance. While working give and the heritage of our nation abundant evidence to your employer and your co-workers that sufficient courage to stand up and fight. He who is to be victorious you are dependable, courteous and must engage in the struggle.

Another responsibility is that of contributing to the growth and development of democratic government. I would like to encourage each of you to learn more about your government. You are

Accept the demands of the situation, yet strive to improve the situation through orderly processes. Certainly your education equips you to make satisfactory adjustment upon the job.

To the foregoing I desire to

I go. The world needs smiles of love and not frowns of hate. These smiles will open the door to all people.

I think and feel that the Supreme Court of the United States is looking circumspectfully and realizing what will happen in China, Japan, Ethiopia and all places where the God we love and serve saw fit to make brown and black skins.

We cannot take a backward step. Let the educators, both Negro and white, stop hedging. Look to the opening of the doors of opportunity so that we can enter a better world — one of freedom of all.

When the long day of activity is over and the cloak of darkness stills the busy day it is good to sit and reflect upon life and its meaning. Today I am thinking about seventy-eight years after my humble birth in a little cabin down by the branch on a plantation in South Carolina. There have been many changes in these years and miracles have taken place in the lives of the peoples of the world.

As I sit in my quiet and peaceful home way down in Florida on the Halifax River and look backward, world who are doing things. Women through the long corridor of time and note the happenings in my own life during these seventy-eight years I am thrilled. It gives me an appreciation for life and opportunities which I cannot express in words.

I can see the old family fireplace with mother, father, grandmother, sisters and brothers in family communion. I was the fifteenth child in our family. July was a special month to replenish the earth. My eldest sister, Sally was born on July 4, my sister, Hattie Bell was born on Jun 12 and I was born July 10, 1875. All of the immediate family have passed into the realms above. I often wonder why God has permitted me to be here to see the seventy-eight birthday after climbing such a rugged way. It also has been a way of peace, love and service.

As I write today I think of my readers and friends all over the world — men and women with whom I have blended my life to make a better and purer world. Thoughts descend upon me concerning the founding of Bethune-Cookman college which stands today as a great foundation of ideals flowing ceaselessly into the minds of the thousands of boys and girls of all races and creeds who pass this way. I think about the setting up of the Great Southeastern Federation. These women are doing a marvelous work in the Southern region and are fearlessly carrying the torch as we climb higher. I think of the setting up of the national headquarters of the Na-

tional Association of Colored Women which stands today as a focal point of a great program. God bless the women of these agencies and endow them with courage and wisdom in the pursuit of lofty ideals.

My dream child, the National Council of Negro Women, looms clearly before me in these moments of reflection. These women united shoulder to shoulder have accepted grave responsibilities in the affairs of the world and are counted among the women of the world who are doing things. Women of India, Liberia and the isles

of the sea, my thoughts go out to you upon this occasion. The blending of your efforts with the fine womanhood of America can alter the countenance of the world. To the great army of church-women whose contributions have deepened the spiritual life of the nation, I give special thought. Our prayers are lifted for you and we hope to undergrid ourselves increasingly with spiritual strength to do the tasks assigned us.

When I think of my work in our government, among labor groups and other organizations I am filled with gratitude for the opportunity extended me to share in your accomplishments. On this day I send out fervent desires for the continued progress of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League and all agencies

engaged in the struggle for the improvement of our race. The walls which have stood between us and total victory are rapidly crumbling. High noon has arrived; the golden sun is above our heads and we must stand firm. Remember that some must suffer for others to rise. Such is the experience of mankind. The Great

Master gave Himself in order that mankind may have life eternal. We have fought for freedom and the removal of discrimination and segregation. Some have had to take tactful movements, however, we have stood the test.

The years are climbing up very rapidly, my children. May I exhort you again to take up the torch and go forward in the spirit diom in this field has probably of love and service. Rid yourselves been most widely heard, I am

of prejudice and hate. Be proud of the success of others and realize that God is our captain. Trust in Him and we cannot fail. What service and inspiration I have given through the years I have given unselfishly. If I have been able to open a door, I am humbly grateful and pray that you may do a greater work than I have conceived. With a courageous heart and a fearless spirit I am still in the front line fighting for the real essence of the good life for all of humanity.

divine vision the dawning of a new day in which artistry and technical excellence could combine to break the shackles of intolerance, ignorance and ignominy. They have done much to bring about changes in our land and in our world. Their names are many, but I recall the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Roland Hayes, Marion Anderson, Todd Duncan, Dorothy Maynor, to mention but a few. They have taken a peoples vision and created a new day for countless young men and women of all races and all lands.

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Mrs. Mary Bethune Describes The Sundown Of Her Life As Beautiful

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Words 'Negro' And 'Spiritual' Form Basic Impact On America's Religious Life

Last week I talked with you about the various advances, changes in status and hopes of our people. I mentioned a few of the great personages whose lives and dedicated labors have symbolized what can be done as long as one has ability, training, faith and vision. Vision is a rare and somewhat divine gift. Those who possess it are permitted to see new horizons.

Today I want to tell you about one of our first contributions to the cultural life of the world. I count this contribution a new horizon because it ushered in a new day in the status of the Negro in this country.

Although it was born amid the black despair of slavery, it created a new light in the hearts of those countless millions whose lives know suffering, oppression and indignity. It took the basic elements of the Christian religion, the higher aspirations of the human spirit and a novel yet simple form of music and welded them into a powerful and dynamic form of musical artistry.

The American Negro has always had a deep sense of music. We have shown a wide range of appreciation, originality in expression and technical creativity in this ancient and universal art. The years are climbing up very rapidly, my children. May I exhort you again to take up the torch and go forward in the spirit diom in this field has probably of love and service. Rid yourselves been most widely heard, I am

sure our most significant recognition lies in a unique musical expression of religious feeling. In truth, this historic representation of our religious convictions has been recognized for many years as one of the most moving forms of music ever created.

Because of its moving quality and its impact upon the spirit of men this musical form came to be known as the "spiritual." The spiritual is by the nature of its creation associated with the Negro race. In like fashion, the word "spiritual" is associated with that part of man which we like to believe is noble, of high aspiration and inestimable in quality.

It is no historic accident that these two descriptive words — Negro and Spiritual — should be associated the one with the other. With the birth of the spiritual there was likewise born a new day in the expression of religious feeling in song. And there was constantly created a new day in the history of our people.

This new horizon in music portrayed a keen sense of the basic elements of Christian doctrine. It had a regal simplicity akin to the life of the Master. It went to the very heart of those nobler aspirations of the human spirit and turned them into a kind of expression that all men everywhere could understand and feel.

The individual authors of the

spiritual are unknown. Their names lie buried in the nameless women of vision. These latter are known. They carried this new horizon back the new day so that their original works were known and enriched by those out of the world. They carried this message in song to the far corners of the earth. They combined the real products of music with the technical excellence of their training. But the peoples of the world saw with the clarity of

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Cite Progress In Washington As Example Of Accomplishment

It was marvelously refreshing to return to the Capital of our great Nation and find so much progress — the result of the work of years. It is simply an example of what can be accomplished if we stick to our ideas and put forth our unremitting effort.

What a pleasure it was to find the national and local Deltas opening new headquarters, and the business and professional women opening up a place where people are beginning to feel at home as people, without reference to race or any other consideration than congeniality and common purpose.

It was encouraging to see the growth at Freedmen's hospital — the new operating room and the new furniture being distributed. I went into the recitation room of the Medical School, where both men and women were being trained for service to our communities. I was impressed by the increased racial integration of the student body, which has, of course, been racially mixed since the school was first established, in 1868. There always have been more applications of both races than could be accommodated.

I was also pleased by the forward step of the National Association of Colored Women, of which I am honored to be a past president. The association is considering the purchase of a new home — a very excellent property on Sixteenth st., Northwest, not far from the apartment where I make my home when in Washington.

11-21-53
I was rejoiced to learn that the convention of the National Council of Negro Women would be entertained at the White House by Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower. The NCNW is the organization of which I dreamed for so long, and which was finally established in 1935, to weld together the strength of our women in all the organizations of the country. I think that it is wonderful thing that all of the people

women at the Capital, as they march forward.

Before concluding this message, I want to express my deep appreciation and admiration for the work that our grand Mary Church Terrell has done in stimulating and leading to a victorious conclusion the final battle against segregation in restaurants and theatres.

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Writer Urges Churches To Take Leadership Against Jim Crow

Last week I wrote briefly about the basic spirit of our country; its background, its struggle for expression, and its ultimate reality. We are very fortunate to live in a country whose code of government is dedicated to the high purposes of the human spirit.

As a country, the United States will never succumb to the evils of any doctrine which seeks to debase the individual. The real patriots of America will always be alert to the threats against that 'spirit,' whether those threats be from within or without.

Today we live at a time when our country is exposed to a dual threat. Our so-called 'Cold war' has two fronts. The fight against that fight in itself is made much more difficult because of the evil men who threaten us from within.

The second front of the 'cold war' is the fight against the people who seek to perpetuate the evils of racial discrimination and segregation within the boundaries of a group of women of Negro descent. I am so proud of our own country. These people of them, and of what they have done to promote the work of the missions and the cause of self-enemies nonetheless.

Those among us who would seek a pleasant pause to give my blessings and make of it a real and living sungs and good cheer to the code of conduct which will re-

flect itself throughout the world, must face up to this internal disaffection. It is an unpleasant task because it is always disturbing and saddening to be compelled to chastise or criticise our brother.

But if our brother through his preachers and actions would destroy our home, would by his actions continually humiliate and debase citizens of his own land, would by these acts hold our country up to world ridicule — then our brother must be dealt with.

This does not mean that our country has to be split again in a spirit of vilification or persecution. Name-calling and unjust punishment have no part in the moral code of patriots.

We cannot stop in our struggle to use every instrument of morality and law to persuade our unfortunate brethren that America has come of age in world affairs.

To do this we must continue to maintain a sense of understanding and perspective. But we must grow in moral courage.

America has become physically great because of her ability to envisage 'bigness' and perfect long range planning. Our country can become spiritually great by the same mediums. We must see the 'bigness' of our job in combatting spiritual 'littleness' at home.

Our social institutions should play an especially important role

in this planning, for one of the main difficulties involved in the complete national maturity of our country lies in the discrepancies between ideas and the collisions between beliefs.

They have to be reconciled and mediated. This will however result in an enlargement of our personal horizons and a new view of ourselves in a world of diversified cultures and critical appraisals.

We have tried to do something about this in small ways. Individual universities have set up interracial programs of one kind or another. Some churches have set aside interracial Sundays.

During the war the radio and the theatre were used to propagandize racial goodwill. But all of these efforts are make shift at best. We cannot solve the problem by meeting emergency situations. We cannot solve the problem by creating apologetic Sunday's.

The time has come when some responsible institution like the whole church (not some division of creed) must unite with every other social, economic and political agency in the land — not for the purpose of nationalizing religion — but for implementing those teachings which are the foundation of our political and religious structures.

The time has come when America must mobilize its spiritual resources. We must do this if the "American Way of Life" is going to take on any real meaning to foreign ears — not to mention millions of second class citizens at home.

I pray that this task of my country will not go too long undone.

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

31a

Writer Says Church Long Overdue In Taking Part In Discrimination Fight

If and when some great social institution like the Church will take up the fight to free the American scene from the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~homicidal~~ afflictions of racial segregation and discrimination, the American people will find themselves engaged in one of the most significant social enterprises in the history of mankind.

This enterprise will be significant because although it will defeat the dangerous philosophy of force, it in itself will involve none of the elements of force. It will be significant because it will come to grips with the basic problem around which all current political ideologies revolve. It will be significant because it will remove the onus of national hypocrisy with which our country has been plagued ever since our spokesmen for social justice have attempted to speak in world assemblies.

It will be significant because the church will have placed itself on the side of the "doers" of good and not merely the moral proponents of social justice.

There is a crying need for such an undertaking in times like these. It would be a vast undertaking.. and as I said last week would not end with 'creed' or ritual, but would be the universal expression of Divinity as it is related to the dignity of the human individual.

It would embrace Jew and Gentle, Catholic and Protestant. It would not concern itself with theology; nor would it become bogged down with verbiage or philosophical dispositions — neither in its initial organization nor its ultimate functions.

It would not be a "talking" movement. It would be a "doing" organization.

Such an undertaking would have distinct advantages.

There would be no "culture" barrier. The American culture is common to all Americans. Our culture is in a sense idealistic in that even though all our citizens

do not share therein, the culture is still there for all to enjoy—either by the exercise of initiative or by the use of whatever instruments of government may be necessary in order to make that culture the common nurture of all the citizens.

There would be no essential barriers in basic religious beliefs. Judaism, Catholicism and Protestantism all share a common point of view on the value of the human personality.

The relation of the human with the Divine is intrinsically the same in the old Hebrew religious beliefs and the Christian beliefs. I

do not feel that in the field of human relations, there is a single point of view on which there is a serious divergence in functional philosophy.

It is my opinion, therefore, that the three major expressions of religious belief in this country could and should take on a challenge which represents the great need of our times and of our country.

I believe that the major responsibility for such a task lies at the door of the Church. I believe this because the issue of segregation and discrimination (by virtue of the color of skin and a former cast condition of legalized slavery) is basically moral. Segregation and discrimination in practice may resolve themselves into political or even legal questions. But in essence they involve the moral sense of our country.

And moral problems of this kind the Church has too long evaded and outrageously sanctioned by its very silence and evasion. The religious life of our country must in itself be a healthy life before we can expect morality to pervade all those avenues of life which have to do with man's complete spiritual and physical well being.

It is very necessary that I make myself clear on the meaning I ascribe to the word Church. I use this word in a somewhat universal sense. I include the three major religious convictions of our

country, namely, Catholicism, Judaism and Protestantism. I do not condone, criticise or attempt to explain any of the aspects of creed or theology.

I point out one thing and that is that these three faiths all believe in the dignity of the human individual, the possible divinity of the human spirit, and the common relation of all men under one expression of Divinity.

This in itself is enough to bring these three together in a timely, definite effort to firmly establish the dignity of the individual in the practical avenues of every day living.

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MARY McLEOD Bethune

Says Spiritual Has Paved Way For Greater Accomplishments In Music

As I closed this column last week I felt that much more could be said about this prized and re-

pected contribution of the Negro people — the Spiritual. It has opened many doors and created many new tomorrows for our people.

Many of those who have carried extent in opera.

the message of the spiritual to all mankind have themselves been of popular music and while I do masters in the field of music as not know too much about this kind of musicians.

People like Marian Anderson are musicians first. Marian Anderson has excelled in the interpretation of all the great and beautiful music of all lands and all peoples.

She is an example of what many others have been able to do through the spiritual. They have excelled in the field of music as such and not in the field of Negro music.

The spiritual through them be-creed a person belongs to or pro-claimed a New Horizon to Music as music. And so I felt that something should be said about two other things which are related to this general subject of music and

The spiritual exerted a powerful and historic influence in the realm of human relations. Many of our trained men and women have been able to gain recognition and attain mastery in music because of this influence.

I recall people like Dean Dixon, who at this very moment is touring Europe. He is conducting many of the great symphonic orchestras of the old world, interpreting the musical culture of many nationalities—interpreting it through the head.

trained, talented individual who by accident of birth is an American Negro.

I recall William Grant Still who today is writing much of the classical music of our times. We do not hear much of his work but it is exerting a tremendous influence on the field of music.

His work bespeaks the theme of

our age. It is not necessarily Negro week I felt that much more could be said about this prized and re-

pected contribution of the Negro people — the Spiritual. It has opened many doors and created many new tomorrows for our people.

Their talents are being used in radio, television and to a limited

extent in opera.

Radio and television remind us

of music I have read much about

many of our people who have mastered the presentation of popular music with intelligent arrangement and comment. This to me is significant.

The story of our people in the field of music has been duplicated many times over in many other fields of human endeavor. The world today recognizes excellence.

It does not matter what race or

creed a person belongs to or pro-

claims, when that person's train-

ing is solid and that person's life

should be dedicated to superior accom-

plishment—there are no dark to-

morrows nor denied todays. There

are always new horizons for men

and women of vision and faith and

I have recently been thinking very seriously about the part wom- anhood can and must play in helping to achieve just and lasting

peace both at home and abroad.

In the past few weeks the news services have carried several items which have emphasized the growing position of women in world affairs.

In my judgement the influence of the women leaders in world thinking together with the organizations they represent can well be the turning point in the most decisive period of threatened war our world has ever experienced.

If all the spiritual forces of outstanding womanhood can be harnessed and directed in the right channels, the world will experience a great change in all phases of life associated with peace and unity and freedom.

I have been thinking of the great women leaders — Madam Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary Church Terrell, Amalia

Castillo-Ledon, Edith Sampson — and many others scattered

throughout the world—some

working in their homelands and others in the great meeting places of the world. But all of them

preaching and pleading for the same doctrines and principles that are found in our own Bill of Rights and in the Charter of the United Nations.

It may well be that some young boy or girl with training and a

leaders of the world could become States, The National Association more closely integrated in the pol. of Colored Women, The Nationality making bodies of the world and Council of Church Women. The in the several national govern. National Council of Negro Women. ments.

If all these groups could come

The recent election of Madam Pandit to the Presidency of the combined intelligence and spirit United Nations General Assembly and power would exert such a

was an historic step in this direction. I have a feeling that this that bombs and shells and all constitutes a 'new horizon' in our the devastating implements of war search for peace—a new day to together with the very spirit of which we may all look with hope war itself would disappear from

The women of all races and the face of the earth. A powerful nations extend to Madam Pandit spirit of peace and the productivity of their orchids of praise as she ity of peace would envelop our gives representation to our col. world . . .

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Shall we not dream dreams? Shall we not have visions? And is a dream or vision of a way to peace implacticable? I think not.

All organizations which are founded upon and which foster humanitarian principles should dream of peace — and especially those organizations made up of the women of the world.

Their united thought and the power of their collective spirits can be, a force for peace such as the world has never before seen or felt.

When we think of the masses of our women who must be geared to their places in the world, and organized and united in their efforts; the challenge comes with greater emphasis to every community, state and nation in calling upon womanhood in whatever surroundings they may find themselves, to rise and become active part of a great machinery of minds and souls.

I think in terms of the many organizations already established along the lines of righteous action — The International Council of Women of the World, The National Council of Women of the United

MARY McLEOD Bethune

Urges Women Of The World Unite, Organize For Peace

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MARY McLEOD Bethune

Even The South Begins To See That Racial Segregation By Law Is Doomed

It has been very disturbing to follow the press releases concerning the school segregation problem now awaiting decision by the Supreme Court. I am greatly saddened by the picture I see of those who defend the principle of segregation and discrimination.

They are described as people of importance — some of them as specialists in constitutional law one of them a former candidate for the high office of President of the United States. They are described as speaking before the Supreme Court in voices "choked with emotion." They are quoted as predicting suggestive consequences to the Negroes if the Supreme Court decide 'against' segregation in the public schools.

Their 'arguments' are amazing for one sees the nature of their 'emotion.' It is the tremendous undercurrent of hate tinged feeling it is the high current of racism. It is indeed perplexing to see the ghosts of the Nazi racial bigots coming alive in the sacred chambers of the United States Supreme Court.

All of this is very disturbing because it shows a warped attitude on basic religious principles. It indicates a state of spiritual illness. It confirms one of the major criticisms leveled against our 'Christian civilization' by our enemies, namely, the terrible hypocrisy of the Christian religion as it is practiced in so many communities of this country. It foreshadows the decay in national morality a decay which CAN become malignant if the better thinking and better 'Christianized' people of our country do not face up to the great shame of our century.

For the failure of the Church to meet its responsibility in the matter of racial discrimination and segregation is the great shame of our century.

This problem which today is being tried before a high tribunal on a legal basis has waited for many, many years for a decis-

ion before the high tribunal of man's religious convictions. The question reflects legal aspects but the problem itself is incontrovertibly moral.

'THE WAGES OF SIN'

Dear Editor:

The recent Kidnap-Murder of little Bobby Greenlease of Kansas City, Mo., by the Alcoholic, Drug-Addict, Carl Austin Hall and his female accomplice, Alcoholic Bonny Heady was undoubtedly one of the most brutal crimes in the annals of criminality. This case conclusively proves that Alcoholics and Drug-Addicts are a menace to society, and it should serve as a warning to all who indulges in these immoral practices.

Juvenile Delinquency would be reduced considerably if means were conceived and adopted to limit the sale of narcotics to only those who have legitimate use for it.

Can you for an instant, imagine the inhuman torture, this innocent youngster was subjected to at the hands of these fiends which resulted in his (Little Bobby's) agonizing death?

Can you visualize the agony and suffering of the broken-hearted parents as a result of this atrocious crime?

This brutal murder of an innocent child should be an example that "Crime doesn't pay", The Bible plainly states, "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life."

This brutal and premeditative act with the perpetrators in this instance, sentenced to the death penalty should remind our youth who are contemplating a life of crime - that it doesn't pay. It should also convince the hardened-criminal of the necessity of immediate reformation.

Sincerely yours,
Rev. Hazen C. Smith-Evangelist
Of The Church of the Living God
St. Louis 13, Mo.

P.S. If you have available space in your Letter Column from the readers, would you kindly insert the above? I think, it perhaps may be beneficial to some one before it is too late.

The time has come for the spirit of man to become free. Segregation holds captive those who defend it. It beclouds their thinking choked emotion of their voices is but the cry of their immortal souls straining for freedom from the debasing effects of racial bigotry.

There people are dangerous. Their attempts to deny complete freedom to all people by circumvention of constitutional guarantees, is a serious matter in a country like the United States. Their preachers veer too near the attitudes which were prevalent in Nazi Germany prior to World War II. The world harvested the whirlwind of devastation which followed in the wake of Nazi racism. What started as carefully perverted logic ended in the slaughter of millions of people and a condition of world wide unrest, suspicion, and subtle hatreds which live even to the present day.

It is disturbing, therefore, to know that we still have people in our country who are the proponents of the very ideas which have already cost the world more 'blood, sweat and tears' in one decade than history has ever recorded.

These people who defend segregation in 'voices choked with emotion' are not only dangerous they need help. They have done and thought 'wrong' so long that they believe 'wrong' to be 'right.' They need Divine help.

This is why the Church must feel responsible for racial bigotry. When the consciences of so-called 'responsible' citizens become deadened, when their lives make a mockery of fundamental religious precepts, then the Church can no longer feel comfort in silence. Such silence leads to spiritual death.

And die we shall if we continue to violate the dignity of the human spirit and pretend our justification in the sight of the Almighty.

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

Our Armed Forces Rejections Point To The End Of An Old Story

That Negro draftee who could not identify a nickel when it was shown to him was not "stupid." It developed that neither he nor his parents before him had ever had access to cash money." The society that deprived him of normal experience put a millstone around its own neck.

Now, I am fully aware, as Commissioner of Education McGrath has pointed out in the December issue of *School Life*, that even in that area of the country with the lowest proportion of Negro service rejects, namely in parts of the Northwest and Midwest—two men out of every ten called—fail to qualify for induction.

I am not inclined to belabor this matter, however, important as it is, because it points to a deficiency generally experienced by all, and not to arbitrary denial of available opportunity to any selected part of the population.

The facts on Selective Service rejections which Commissioner McGrath spelled out, are, as he said, "a challenge to our schools"—but not to our schools alone.

They are a challenge to our entire pattern of democratic life.

There is nothing new in the picture to which he has called our attention. It is only the impact of situations long-existing, over which we have temporized for too long, that brings them sharply into focus, now.

Year after year and decade after decade, the voices of justice and logic and common sense have been warning us of the inevitable results of our cumulative deficiencies in education. Particularly they have warned of those created by the senseless impoverishment and inequalities of educational segregation.

We need not go back too far. Had war not come to us, again, a decade ago, I am much afraid that those voices would still be crying—not unheard, but unheeded. But war did come.

It came less than a generation after a First World War that did

not teach us very much. In many ways World War I seemed to have aggravated the fears and resentments of separation.

The first reaction was typical of the fear of those wronged: "Keep the guns away from the Negroes! Keep the Negroes in their place!" Then there was the bitterness of the labor battalions—battalions composed of men deemed unfit for combat because of high illiteracy quotients—not as individuals, but as selected groups.

Behind these quotients were the years of systematic discrimination in training to live and to make a living. And after the bitterness of the labor battalions came the great irony—the bitterness of those who found that, as a consequence of unfair educational advantage—their sons, accepted for service as "qualified"—were bearing proportionately more of the combat burden than were the sons of those families arbitrarily disadvantaged by racial discrimination.

We are all aware of the later struggle—of the demand of Negroes for battle-line acceptance, on the only basis possible in a practicing democracy—that of individual merit. We recall the "intelligence tests" which proved only that disadvantage to any citizen, such as the potential voter who could not identify the nickel, is in the end, disadvantage to all.

At this time, with the High Court deliberating on the constitutionality of segregation and the Attorney General's suggestions on the manner in which integration might be accomplished, fresh in mind, I believe that what we need to do is to underscore the story told by the Selective Service Rejectees map accompanying Mr. McGrath's article. That map shows the areas of lowest educational advantage to be precisely the areas of statewide segregation and covers the solid block of Southern states east of the Mississippi River and across it to include the Mississippi Valley states

In the little eight-page booklet, "Armed Forces Rejecting During the First Year of the Korean War," two pages are covered by a similar map—"Rejection Rates for Failure to Pass Armed Forces Qualification Test, 1950-1951," thoughts would reach you on the which was issued in November by birthday of one of our greatest the Bureau of Labor Standards, Americans—Benjamin Franklin. Here the same area of blacked out educational opportunity meets us always, somehow, that he, me, as I did, from a very large family of 17 children, of whom formal

Certainly we know the "rea-sons." We know that the poorest areas in the United States have assumed an unwieldy financial burden far beyond their ability to carry, in the exercise of their "rights," and that in so doing all parts of their population have been overtaxed and undereducated, and the Negroes among them have suffered critical hurts from the discriminatory use of public funds.

So now we are told that the greatest slow-down in the integration of our Armed Forces in the European Area is due to the high proportion of Negro servicemen. Thus he learned to write—by reading and writing, continually, brackets! We seem to have come full circle with the barriers to progress we have been diligently

Roy Davenport of the Adjutant General's Office stated six years ago, in the Journal of Negro Education: "if educational opportunities in all areas, for both races, down inland waterways, circulated had been identical, nearly all secondary and racial differences would disappear." But they will never search for knowledge throughout the length and breadth of the country.

At this time, with the High Court deliberating on the constitutionality of segregation and the Attorney General's suggestions on the manner in which integration might be accomplished, fresh in mind, I believe that what we need to do is to underscore the story told by the Selective Service Rejectees map accompanying Mr. McGrath's article. That map shows the areas of lowest educational advantage to be precisely the areas of statewide segregation and covers the solid block of Southern states east of the Mississippi River and across it to include the Mississippi Valley states

News and opinion on politics, business, education, thrift, economy— even on farming methods—went out from his pen to the mass people of his day.

Finally came Poor Richard's almanac, published only once a year, but filled with sayings that still delight us, probing into today's living as keenly as they did into that of the colonies and the early days of the nation.

Who can forget such pointed proverbs as: "Light purse, heavy heart;" "Little boats should keep near the shore;" "It is hard for

MARY MCLEOD Bethune

All Of Us Should Resolve To Keep Striving For Well-Rounded Living

an empty bag to stand upright;" "He that falls in love with himself will know no rivals!"

Any little grade-school child can tell us about Franklin's kite experiment that identified lightning and electricity. Every farm-child knows that he invented the lightning rod. And who, but the very young, has not sat beside a "Franklin stove"—those cheerful and comfortable friends of cold climates?

His mind was never still. On his missions abroad as the honored representative of our new government, he noted improved methods of gardening, and sent home seeds and roots and cuttings, to stimulate better production in the young republic.

Back in Philadelphia he promoted a public library, and a fire department and a police force. From him came the idea for a postal service.

Honored and active beyond all Americans of his day—and often called the greatest American of them all—Ben Franklin knew that the education for well-rounded living is never "completed," that it must go on and on, attracting and spreading knowledge as it goes. He knew that it must push away nothing of help to mankind, as too humble to be explored and developed and passed on.

He was forever: "Trying the mortar's temper 'tween the chinks; watching . . . the cobbler at his trade;" and "The man who slices lemon into drink"—learning from the humblest; never one-sided, never pompous, and therefore truly great.

That is a great lesson for Americans of all races and creeds to remember on his birthday.

And as we move toward Education week, I hope that all of us will be able to see the sources from which real wisdom comes, and to realize that training and preparation in specific areas of learning are means to the greater end of well-rounded living, and not the end in itself.

MARY McLEOD Bethune

MARY McLEOD Bethune

31a Technique Change With The Times Era Of Integration Is Now Here

On Old Year's Day—Dec. 31—I sent a message to the Conference on Racial Unity, then in session at Columbia, S. C. It was a remarkable conference and I greatly regretted not meeting in person with the cross-section of American youth and its leaders, who discussed the "how's" of racial unity with keen insight into this problem for which so many "solutions" have been offered.

In that message I made a statement which I shall repeat here, and on which I shall elaborate. My remarks were directed to the challenge of a great past, and I pointed out that right there in Columbia, S. C., Richard T. Greener, Harvard's first Negro graduate, had served as a professor of metaphysics and logic at the University of South Carolina, before the pendulum of progress that followed Emancipation had swung backward. I tried to tell those young people what unabridged opportunity to acquire and transmit knowledge—"to act and feel like Americans"—had meant to Greener and to others of his times.

That is only realism, for it is freedom of association, not "separate but equal," that builds a strong American democracy—a democracy strong enough to withstand the pressures and stresses of a world in which "pushed-around non-white peoples, subjected to all types of humiliating racial distinctions," have, understandably, developed unhelpful dislikes.

Many of you must have read the fascinating article, "I Was a Hobo Kid," in a December issue of the Saturday Evening Post. The significance of the young author's experience with schools, so like my own in its early yearning, was different in one vital respect—that in her case, only her family's nomad existence stood between her and the opportunity to "belong."

In her story, Miss Billie Davis told how, once she entered school, with all the other children, she found "the key to equality and achievement—the magic place where money and clothes and houses did not count." She found the place where she "could be free of the sickening inferiority complex" and sowed that philosophy standing the slights and cruelties no longer acceptable—at a time of others."

But let me repeat here that Booker Washington made that accepted with morbid understanding that was the sum of his separate-as-the-fingers philosophy. It did not matter, she said, that at a very low ebb, especially in after school she returned to the South, where he had "let down family's roadside tent, where food his bucket." What he did was to was cooked over a campfire, and give temporary strength to a she sat on the ground to eat it

shaky structure.

Even then there were a great many people among both races, and in all parts of the country, who never agreed that such a technique was necessary or desirable and never accepted it. But whatever the position taken at that time, we should now remember that the era of separation is behind us.

The state of South Carolina, the state of Mississippi, yes, even the District of Columbia, which begins to look like the last stand of die-hardism, are now aroused to the fact that they can no longer avoid integration, and are therefore turning their attention to preparing for it.

That is only realism, for it is freedom of association, not "separate but equal," that builds a strong American democracy—a democracy strong enough to withstand the pressures and stresses of a world in which "pushed-around non-white peoples, subjected to all types of humiliating racial distinctions," have, understandably, developed unhelpful dislikes.

The technique of the new era is

out of a tin bowl, because at school she was equal. At school and in the school paper, and the students who never agreed that such a technique was necessary or desirable and never accepted it. But whatever the position taken at that time, we should now remember that the era of separation is behind us.

In spite of "the dirt and lice and canvas shoes" from which she had come, she could know herself, as an individual, to be equal, and even superior, to the children from secure homes. She found that "freedom and equality which gave her faith" and enabled her to forget that she was "a dirty little camper," until she ceased to be one. And she was able to keep her faith because the strong hand of democracy held the doors open for the camper's child.

That is the faith of the free which is our real America—which must abound for all Americans, regardless of race, and to which we can point with reassurance for those across the seas, who may have deep realization of her living ports of entry, but who daily knock at the gates of our faith.

My friend, Mrs. M. C. B. Mason, slipped away from us into eternal sleep and left us more confident in the fact that death has no sting when one lived a truly Christian life. I wish to clothe in words my heart felt tribute to this one of God's children. She was a child of the king and is now enjoying the bounty of her heirship. Of this we are all certain.

Throughout her life to its very end, she made us know that the PRESENCE of God was with her always; she was the daughter of the King. Never was she ashamed to own Her Master and her King and to remind others that they must trust Him. Her faith would not shrink, though pressed by many foes. She said claim on her

right to a place in God's Kingdom and thereby lengthen the life which has closed. She has gone. Through her distinguished husband carrying the missionary message to those whom she came in contact. Her blessings and prayers had helped in the physical and spiritual development of Bethune-Cookman College. She was a life member of the National Council of Negro Women and her spiritual A-MENS have done much to further the work of younger women who need just such blessings to keep them working toward their goals.

the years she has stood so securely beside me with her prayers and a practising brotherhood as old as Christianity itself.

I recall vividly one night when our need seemed greatest. We needed money to help further our work. I lay awake on the twin bed across from hers enjoying the hospitality of her home, yet wondering what I should do to satisfy our need. Finally, I called to her and told her of the burden upon my heart. She said comfortingly, "Daughter, let's get right down here on our knees and tell God about it!"

We did just that. The next morning, I was led speedily to a friend, to whom I told my problem and defined our need. He

Tribute To Example, Inspiration, Courage Of Late Mrs. M. C. B. Mason

gave me check for \$10,000. Hurriedly, I found my way back to Mrs. Mason, placed the check in her hand and rejoiced. She said, "Daughter, let's get down here on our knees and thank God for the answer to our prayers."

Readers of this column, I am telling you this little story to let you know how a beloved, esteemed and consecrated woman has put into action the profound challenges of the Christian religion. Her faith brought to her a full and abundant life of service. She was one of the outstanding workers of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church. She travelled around the world with her distinguished husband carrying the missionary message to those whom she came in contact. Her blessings and prayers had helped in the physical and spiritual development of Bethune-Cookman College. She was a life member of the National Council of Negro Women and her spiritual A-MENS have done much to further the work of younger women who need just such blessings to keep them working toward their goals.

We shall truly miss her. For twenty years she has been coming to Daytona Beach where she has bathed herself in the wonderful sunshine of Florida and at the same time serving as a fountain of blessing to thousand of young men and young women who have passed through the College and out into the world. Surely, they will hear that confident voice re-echoing again and again, "God bless you my child!"

She has left footsteps in which these younger ones may step and safely walk to success and spiritual maturity.

She has left a family of contributing citizens. Two of her daughters are known to us here in Daytona Beach. One of them, Mrs. Winona Mason Brown, the wife of a distinguished Dentist, who offered my friend a comfortable home during the twenty years of her wintering with us. Mrs. Mame Mason Higgins, one of the Instructors at Bethune-Cookman

giving of blessings and her loyalty to the best that her life had known in and thru God are treasures in and thru God are treasures that will give satisfaction to the everyday task we have to do. Let us practice them more, my readers and thereby lengthen the life which has closed. She has gone. Through an open door she passed. Servant of God, well done! Rest from this earth's employ The battle's o'er, the victory's won

We do not want her to return satisfied her, and she had seen His revelations in her own family and in the lives of many, many to the place where we may obtain and to these mundane shores. She was done her work here. She has left all legacies that lead us closer to our own heritage of eternal life. Her passionate faith, her simple, wholehearted trust, her continuous

College, joined with her sister and brother-in-law in helping to make Daytona resort one of many interests and ease of mind. All four of the children have completed a College education and are leaving to make worthy contributions in Chicago, and other cities of our nation. There are four grandchildren—all of whom are College graduates. Mrs. Mason lived to see the youngest one of them become a graduate of long life. God had

No Cover Charge

31 ★ Negro
By George F. Brown



The Stain of Prejudice

Cleveland has long been known as one of America's most democratic cities, but it is painful to learn that repeated bombings have impelled the owners of a popular night club to throw in the sponge and close the doors. Racial friction has been held to a minimum in housing, in schools, in jobs, to some extent, and in general community life in Cleveland. The bombings of the Towne Casino certainly must be examined. Cleveland is not a victim of "wool hat" philosophy, wherein this ilk stands for segregation and discrimination in all walks of life. The very idea that Negroes cannot frequent a night club in the downtown area is reprehensible. Bombing property to scare American citizens out of an American club is ignorant and low. Another club, the Alhambra, opened for Negroes some time ago, and it encountered tough going, too. Could it be that certain real estate interests want this property? Could it be that Negroes must stay in their own sections? Could it be that "wool hats" have invaded Cleveland?

Somewhere along the line, people in America must wake up to the fact that Negroes pay taxes, fight and die in wars and contribute to the arts and sciences of this nation. It is a bitter pill to swallow when native-born young men and women return from the battlefields only to have doors slammed in their faces. Hordes of displaced persons can come to America and move right in; get jobs, buy homes, become citizens—and never feel the yoke of oppression they fled. But the American Negro . . .

Every time the rights and privileges of Negroes are abridged by violence the Communists chalk up another victory. The Reds capitalize upon such incidents. Ignorant parents fill their kids' soft little heads with racial junk that only poisons everything they touch and these same people grow up into simple goons who spew hatred across the land. It is morally wrong; it is patriotically wrong; it is constitutionally wrong. America is for all Americans. The hordes who fled Germany and Russia and Italy and other lands find haven here. Some of these people are ill-advised and their mob instinct comes to the fore.

Example of indoctrination: This writer was standing in a tavern which caters to both white and colored people. One greasy guy in overalls sidled up to me and said, "I'm not ashamed to be in here." I looked at him, not being able to understand his terrible English; he

Negro -(GEORGE F. BROWN)

could hardly talk the language. "I work with a lot of colored people," he said. I said, "Yeah?" He said, "I'm not ashamed to be in this place with colored people." Who in the hell asked him in? I looked at this fellow and shrugged; another goof. Why did he pick me for his confession of the soul? Talking as if he had a mouthful of cracked ice, he kept patting himself on the back for being in a "colored" place. So I just eased away before I started feeling good about being in the place, too. The point is, this fellow, being new to America, had listened to the wrong things and, though he knew it was instinctively wrong, he felt that was the proper attitude to take.

If a night club owner opens his door to anyone, then anyone should be able to enter without interference or intimidation.

No Cover Charge

31 ★ Negro
By George F. Brown

Lest We Forget

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that Dr. Ralph J. Bunche will appear on Ed Sullivan's "Toast of the Town" television show on Sunday, Nov. 29, not only proves that Sullivan is an astute showman but it also reminds us that too often we are prone to forget our really outstanding personalities. Dr. Bunche himself is no seeker of publicity simply for the sake of staying in the limelight because he has truly etched his name in glowing letters on the pages of history.

Even today, we cannot grasp the significance of Dr. Bunche's achievements on the world stage where tempers threaten to erupt at any moment. It would be idle to recapitulate Dr. Bunche's record here, but we should never forget him, the man. On sheer ability, Dr. Bunche did more to gain respect for Negroes than ten thousand breast-beaters and race hustlers ever did. Add the names of Joe Louis and Jackie Robinson to the list and you



DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE

... on TV Sunday

will find out why the lot of minorities is getting better and better in this country. All who view Ed Sullivan's program on Nov. 29 should write a letter lauding him for the shrewd casting of his show and for reminding us of a great man—one of our own. Sullivan has done a good job in placing top colored acts on his show. He does it because he wants to stage a good production and not because he feels noble about featuring our stars. Sullivan is like that. Don't forget to write him. He's straight.

31 ★

11-28-53

Bits About 'Em

Organist Vin Strong is urged to contact this writer immediately. Organist Sammy Nowlin is requested to write Joe Robinson at Crawford Grill Number Two in Pittsburgh, where he played for over two years. Nice new place, Sammy . . . Morris Merritt has a letter that's been in this office for a month. Morris, where are you? . . . Two new albums that loom as hits right off are the ones by Errol Garner and Billy Eckstine. Crazy, both of them . . . Ace baritone Broc Peters is scoring at the Yankee Sun in Akron. Queenie Buckner, who shakes her audiences into bad health with her torrid twistings, is in Akron, too. No connection, though.

Pretty Pittsburgh mystery girl Odessa Broadnax is sporting mink earrings, but she also has the mink neckpiece, you catty girls who do not have mink . . . "Smoke Rings" by Earl Bostic is a real gasser. Top solo by the alto sax ace has "it" . . . Blues shouter Wynonie Harris is featuring a sort of Western outfit (clothes, man) on his current tour . . . Has that Beryl Booker got a pretty trio—all three of them are girls, junior. They play real nice, too, at the Blue Note in Philly . . . How about the way Philly, Boston, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and L. A. have so many lounges featuring good trios and combos and singles? . . . Rosita Davis has headed for Canada again for the second time this year. They like the girl with the sapphire eyes up that way. Gr-r-r.

Johnny Sparrow, one of the top saxophonists anywhere, is currently cooling at the Club Chateau in Philly. Johnny has all it takes for big-time action . . . The Cincinnatians are really moving up in the gospel singing ranks. Their bookings extend well into February . . . Has dancer Shorts Davis other interests in Detroit beside regular night club bookings? Well, has he? . . . I like the way organist Ruby Young plays "No Other Love Have I" and "Embraceable You" at the new Hurricane in Pittsburgh.

For amateurs who think they have something on the ball and would like to make television, Ted Mack invites those without professional experience to contact him at

Box 191, Radio City Station, New York. Ted Mack has helped a lot of people up the ladder of show business and his TV audience is THAT big.

Look for Louis Armstrong to score a big hit in the "Glenn Miller Story" flicker. If he gets enough scenes he may steal the picture. How's this—He: Did you hear the story about he peacock? She: No, what is the story about the peacock? He: It's a beautiful tale! . . . With no cover charge.

THE MOVING FINGER

31a
BY MYRA J. BRYANT

EDITOR'S NOTE: This essay by Roy Wilkins, columnist for The California Eagle, Los Angeles, Cal., is being reproduced in this space today.)

The objections raised to the appointment of **NO SECRET**

Gov. James F. Byrnes by Pres. Memphis, Tenn.

Eisenhower as a delegate to the Birmingham's silly and vicious laws United Nations against Negroes and whites playing have brought up cards together. They know that the usual argument is that the same people cal forbids Negroes and whites in **USUAL** the same athletic event.

ARGUMENTS They know that Eleanor Roosevelt is being used increasingly by President of the United States sat that is being used to keep the Negro to keep in a chair in the middle of an aisle quiet and let things "work out," in a Birmingham auditorium because that Negro organizations like the NAACP drag in the race question the seating segregation.

everywhere and thus emphasize race and create antagonism (pre-States Senator Glen Taylor was sumably where it never existed be-arrested and tried and sentenced for the "crime" of entering a hall by a door marked "For Colored,"

The secondary argument is that by raising the race question and challenging discrimination, Negro organizations like the NAACP are furnishing the Communists with ammunition and thus doing a dis-service to America.

'GOOD' NEGROES P. Negroes in the South are familiar with these arguments. For decades the Southern whites have praised and petted the "good" Negroes who do not yell about mistreatment, but go their quiet way, taking everything without complaint. All other Negroes are "agitators" who are said to be "creating strife between the races" by their complaints and demands.

Just the other day John Temple Graves who writes a column for the Birmingham, Ala., Post Herald and other Southern dailies, said the NAACP protest on Byrnes was furnishing the Communists with ammunition. Now, in the first place the Communists do not need the NAACP to furnish them with am-

munition. The white people of the South, including Graves, are furnishing the Lefties with more stuff than they can use.

BIRMINGHAM 'LEADS' Birmingham, John Temple Graves who writes a column for the Birmingham, Ala., Post Herald and other Southern dailies, said the NAACP protest on Byrnes was furnishing the Communists with ammunition. Now, in the first place the Communists do not need the NAACP to furnish them with am-

munition. The white people of the South, including Graves, are furnishing the Lefties with more stuff than they can use.

gate to the United Nations unless morality be completely supplanted by bigotry.

CRYSTAL CLEAR

His position is crystal clear. He believes in white supremacy above the Constitution of the United States or the dictum of the Supreme Court. If there had been no NAACP to mention these matters Byrnes would still be an unfit dele-

31a 1953

Negro (Nannie H. Burroughs)

12 things the Negro must DO FOR HIMSELF

By NANNIE H. BURROUGHS

31a May 10
The average so-called educated Negro will have come down out of the air. He is too inflated over nothing. He needs an experience similar to the one that Ezekiel had—(Ezekiel 3:14-19). And he must do what Ezekiel did—

Journal and General
Otherwise, through indifference, as to the plight of the masses, the Negro, who thinks that he has escaped, will lose his own soul. It will do all leaders good to remember Hebrews 13:3, and the first thirty-seven chapters of Ezekiel.

P. 15 Sat. 4-4-53
A race transforms itself through its own leaders and its sensible "common people." A race rises on its own wings, or is held down by its own weight. True leaders are never "things apart from the people". They are the masses. They simply got to the front ahead of them. The only business at the front is to inspire the masses by hard work and noble example and challenge them to "Come on!" Dante stated a fact when he said, "Show the people the light and they will find the way!"

There must arise within the Negro race a leadership that is not out hunting bargains for itself. A noble example is found in the men and women of the Negro race who, in the early days, laid down their lives for their people. Their invaluable contributions have not been appreciated by the "latter-day leaders". In many cases, the names would never be recorded, among the unsung heroes of the world, but for the fact that white friends have written them there.

"Lord, God of Hosts, Be with us yet."

WE FORGET—WE FORGET

The Negro of today does not realize that, but, for these exhibit A's, that certainly show the innate possibilities of members of their own race, white people would not have been moved to make such princely investments of their lives and money, as they have made, for the establishment of schools and for the on-going of the race.

Miss Burroughs is president of National Training School, Washington, D. C., and president of the Woman's Convention, Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A. Inc. Copies of her booklet, "12 Things the Negro Must Do for Himself", may be purchased at 10 cents each or 12 for \$1.00. Send orders to Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, Lincoln Heights, Washington 19, D. C.

CAYTON

A Terrible Mistake;
Byrnes Appointment
To UN Gives USSR
A 'Loaded Revolver'

By HORACE CAYTON

THE APPOINTMENT of James Byrnes as a delegate to the United Nations is the most incredible appointment that has been made in diplomatic circles for years.

It is almost impossible to see how such a tremendous mistake could have been made. Mr. Byrnes' presence will embarrass our delegation and our country by his mere presence.

Reporters from all over the world have asked me what the United States had in mind. A correspondent from one of the largest papers in Europe said, "The appointment is fantastic." A man from the Scandinavian countries said, "The United States is giving the Russians a loaded revolver in their appointment of Byrnes."

The appointment is in the first place an affront to every work of our delegation and non-white nation in the world. our State Department. Byrnes' statement that he would turn over the schools to private hands rather predicted the following: "If than allow mixed schools was South Carolina's Jimmie one that would anger an Indian, Asian or Middle Easterner.

It violates every principle of the United Nations. One important member of the UN asked this country: "What if Byrnes is put on the Human Rights Commission? How could be possibly vote what could be?"

THEN THERE is of course, the Russians. In meeting after meeting they have taken If anything, Roberts has



Mr. Cayton

occasion to criticize the United States on the race issue. If then our country is represented by a person who believes in and practices race superiority, how can we answer them?

At this writing, Ambassador Lodge has not had a press conference. It would be interesting to know from him if he was consulted about the appointment. Or whether in his opinion our delegation will be

THE UNITED STATES has the opportunity to regain her position as the outspoken

With such an arch support of democratic principles as proponent of democracy. But the Rev. Archibald Carey on the same team, will our delegation be able to make decisions? The Ambassador should

also be asked how he thinks world opinion will react to Mr. Byrnes.

I am sure that reporters from all corners of the world will put these questions to Mr. Lodge.

There is still another angle. It is rumored that the United States will support Madame Pandit of India to be the next President of the General Assembly.

Madame Pandit is committed against race prejudice.

SHE FOUGHT hard for the appointment of a committee to investigate the racial policy of South Africa.

To have the President of the General Assembly against race prejudice and an important American delegate supporting

DR. DANIEL F. MALAN, former minister and now Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, has a successor. If some have thought that with the passing off the scene of the ailing 79-year-old Byrnes says, does or writes

anything derogatory about colored people while on his of that country United Nation's job, watch for would change, militant, alternate delegate, they are mislead to create an taken. The man that is to follow Malan

"Same technique was effectively used during the Roosevelt Administration when William Hastie protested against anything, even Army mistreatment of Negroes. He is more committed to the

exploiters than Ma-

self. I am himself. The name of the heir apparent is Johannes Gerhard Stijdom. You pronounce it "Straydom."

Stijdom is just as committed to white supremacy, to rule or ruin, but he is more dangerous. Malan is a plodding, pedantic man with an obsession. Stijdom is a dynamic personality inspired with a Fascist philosophy.

I DON'T use the word fas-

cist idly in connection with the Crown Prince of the Nationalist party. He spoke openly for a Fascist victory

during the second world war.

In speeches he makes constant references to the "black menace" and the "British Jewish imperialism." His racist philosophy, according to Reporter magazine, allows him to refer to the four-fifths of South Africa's population as "things." "When we refer," he is quoted as saying, "to the people as a nation, we mean the Europeans." This definition excludes some ten million Bantus, mulattoes and Asians.

Stijdom is shrewd and ruthless. He has little regard for law. In the fight to deprive the one million mulattoes from the vote, he was more than willing to violate the South African Constitution which provided that such a change could be made only if it were approved by a two-thirds majority of Parliament which the Nationalist party lacked. "Arguments about a two-thirds majority," he said, "are futile. The European must be supreme . . . What difference would it make to a native whether his representation is abolished by a majority of two-thirds or a majority of one?"

IN MANY ways Stijdom resembles our Southern demagogues such as Huey Long. He comes from the Transvaal, an area of hard unyieldingness; a country of red, eroded soil. The residents of that section of South Africa are the share-

cropper. Their standard of living is often not much above that of the African. During the war some were absorbed into war industries and were able to live a little better. But they are constantly haunted

by the memory of their poverty and the fear that they might lose the few gains that they have made. Having lived so close to the standard of living of the Bantu they stubbornly cling to their pride of color and erect any barrier which would give them a preferred position over black men. They are desperate in their efforts to keep the Negro in the lowest paying jobs and out of even semi-skilled work.

It was these people in the Transvaal that organized and paraded in green shirts and khaki shorts in the Broederbond organizations. This group plotted for a Nazi victory. Like Hitler's organized mobs, they felt that social prestige and economic security had been denied them and the only way to show their worth was to oppress another group of people. In Germany it was the Jews; in South Africa, for the Transvaalites, the black man.

IN 1939 Malan went to the "red clay" country for political support. He not only found votes, enough to influence his victory in 1948, but also found a political leader as fanatical as himself.

There began an unholy alliance.

South Africa is enjoying a surface prosperity. But in spite of its wealth in gold, diamonds and uranium, the lands are either wasted or wasting. Most of its inhabitants live below or close to the subsistence level. Its racial policy is wasteful and expensive. The country will undoubtedly, and within a relatively short period of time, face an economic crisis.

It is in such circumstance that men of Stijdom type, the fascists and the neo-fascists, thrive. The rise to

power of such figures is possible when economic reversal comes to people living at a low standard of living.

CAYTON

What Is Happening
In Guiana Today
May Take Place
In Africa Tomorrow

By HORACE CAYTON

BRITISH GUIANA is the old story again of neglect and exploitation. For the 149 years the British have possessed the territory they have ignored the position of the inhabitants.

They have allowed the justifiable discontent of these people to build up until they would look in any direction for assistance. Then, when the Communist, or at least Communist-dominated persons, attempted to organize the discontent, the British became surprised and angry. The



Mr. Cayton

same thing happened with the French in Indo-China. Something like it happened in Malaya and Kenya. It should not be surprising but it is.

Of the nearly one billion people in British Guiana, approximately two hundred thousand are East Indians, 150,000 are Africans and nearly fifty thousands are "mixed" or "colored" people.

THERE ARE nearly 9,000 Portuguese and only about the same number of Europeans other than Portuguese. In addition, there are about 17,000 South American Indians and a handful of Chinese.

It is the East Indians, the Africans and the Indians who are exploited. They suffer not only from a racial stigma but also as workers and as colonials. The British Colonial Office has neglected them for years.



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Sugar is the most important crop of the country; it is from this industry that the majority of the population earn its living.

Daniel James, in a recent magazine article has described some of the facts concerning the Guianese sugar worker: "Until 1951, according to the British Colonial Office's latest report, dated that year, the average male sugar-factory worker received fourteen dollars and sixteen cents per week in Guianese currency if he was skilled. (The Guianese, or British West Indian dollar is worth about fifty-seven cents today.)

* * *

"HE PROBABLY lived in a 'range', a type of rural tenement built more than half a century ago around the factory and lacking the most elementary sanitary facilities.

"He worked in a factory that was equally ancient and grimy. He could count on only the most meager social and medical assistance. He had no genuine trade union to represent him."

In 1950 Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan, an East Indian born in Guiana and educated in the United States with his American-born wife, established the People's Progressive Party.

There seems to be little doubt that the party and the Jagans were strongly influenced by Moscow. In any case, after the P.P.P. had gained political control of the country it committed a number of overt acts which had a distinct Communist flavor. After a strike in the sugar industry and an unsuccessful attempt to force a Labor Relations ordinance through the House the situation grew so tense that the English landed troops and suspended the constitution.

The British, of course, justified their action on the Communist leanings of the Jagans and of the P.P.P. There the situation stands.

* * *

THE PROBLEM of British Guiana will not be solved that simply.

Many peoples who are distinctly anti-Communist feel that the English could have taken other steps, such as dismissing the House and calling for another election.

Peoples of the Caribbean, themselves struggling for self-government, cannot help but feel that this high-handed ac-

tion is a blow to their aspirations. The Indians are very much in their feeling toward the English and New Delhi has denounced this form of intervention.

Even some Latin-Americans feel that this is an invasion of the American continent which perhaps violates the Monroe Doctrine.

British Guiana is small, the half million people involved are not important numbers.

But as a symptom of the content of colonial peoples and their willingness to turn to any quarter for aid after they have been ignored and exploited over a period of years, British Guiana is of extreme importance.

* * *

TO SUBORDINATE a group of people, exploit them, ignore their struggles for food and freedom and then be surprised when they, in final desperation, turn to the Communist is a form of behavior which has been repeated over and over by the French and British.

CAYTON
The 'Ghetto-Minded' Negro Doesn't Have To Be Considering His Many Possibilities

By HORACE CAYTON

THE NEGRO is ghetto-minded. He doesn't have to be.

There is every indication that he can more and more become a part of the mainstream of the American life.

There is plenty of prejudice against him, and I am not belittling that,

but he is not taking full advantage of his possibilities. I think I know why he is ghetto-minded. One cannot endure the degradation of subordination, humiliation, and outright fear of existence without a feeling of inferiority.

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The core of the Negro's

mentality, is indeed, fear of the white man. But there is a possibility of a breakthrough, and we must take advantage of it.

Cayton

TAKE IN the sphere of business. Years ago Negroes ran barber shops throughout the country and especially in the South, which had predominantly white patronage. They don't do it now, and more is the pity. I go to a barber shop run by Puerto Ricans with all white clientele.

Some of these Puerto Ricans are as dark as any Negro, but their clients pay their money, get their haircuts or shaves and if they notice any color difference make no objection.

Negroes are good cooks. Throughout New York you can see them in the kitchens preparing the most delectable dishes for white bosses and white patrons. Why can't they do it for themselves?

There is not one decent, or to my knowledge a single Negro restaurant in downtown New York. There is money in Harlem. Why doesn't some Negro start a restaurant that will cater to all peoples?

* * *

RECENTLY, I went to Ithaca, N. Y. There I met a doctor who moved to that small city and just opened a practice. After a few years his practice was 90 per cent white. He wasn't ghetto-minded.

He was just a doctor practicing medicine the way any doctor should do. This is an example that could well be followed by professional men, by businessmen and just the ordinary guy.

I know the enormous emotional block which exists in Negroes in overcoming their ghetto-minded psychology.

One cannot be rejected, subordinated and crushed without it leaving a scar on their personality. But regardless of the magnitude it has, we must rise above this. And, once having risen above the degradation which has been thrust upon us, a newer and fuller life will open to us.

* * *

I HOPE I see the Negro leave Harlem and live every place in New York. I hope I see Negroes open businesses

in every section of this great metropolis.

I hope to see colored people drop off this ghetto-mindfulness: shed it like a snake does its skin. I hope to see all this, but I know its cost in emotional turmoil.

I've known a few Negroes who have done it. I have witnessed their struggles. Those I have known have won against tremendous odds. But their very experiences have shown me that it is possible.

They are the vanguards which we, as a group, must honor, treasure and emulate.



CAYTON

Why Negroes in America Should Be Interested in Africa's Struggle

By HORACE CAYTON

IS THE American Negro too interested in Africa? Do American Negroes put the interests of Africa above those of the United States? After all, what business is it of the American Negro what happens in Africa?

These are some of the questions which I have received from readers lately. One lady wrote: "Why are you always harping on Africa? You are an American, not an African. Your interests should lie with

your own country. What is good for this country is good for you. You are demanding acceptance on one hand and pleading the cause of Africa on the other. Don't make the mistake that the Jews are making with Israel."

Then why this interest and partial identification with Africa? I think that behind the sentimental interest is a real realization that race and color play an important part in the world today. Until recent years, the white race has controlled the world. To be a non-white meant that a person had a subordinate, colonial or subject status. That has been changed to an extent—with the freedom of India, the rise of China, the independence of Burma—and is changing more every day. With every break in the color line, the position of the American Negro is advanced to an extent. With the coming to power of a strong, Negro, African country, the whole color bar will receive a death blow.

One has to admit at the outset that much of the American Negro's interest in Africa is sentimental. He would find out, if he traveled throughout the continent, that American Negroes have little in common with their dark brothers. This is true because, of all groups in this country, the American Negro is the most American of them all. The German, even the second or third generation German, may have relatives in the old country. His early childhood would, in most instances, have been influenced by the language, customs and conventions of his German forebears. In many instances, his family might have belonged to German-American organizations or read German-American papers. The same could be said of the



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French, the Swedes or the Dutch.

P. 1

BUT WITH the American Negro, it is altogether a different case. When Negroes were brought here as slaves, their white owners were careful to strip them of all African culture. They were purposely distributed so that a slave would be among other slaves whose dialect he could not speak. This was, of course, to prevent them from communicating with each other and perhaps starting a revolt. In any case, all that was African was soon stripped off, and everything that was taken on was as American as pork and beans or ham and eggs for breakfast.

There may be Negro papers, but they're American Negro papers. There's nothing foreign in their make-up. One can talk about Negro literature: but that literature is about a segment of the American population. It does not harken back to Africa or any place else. No, the American Negro is the most American of all.

Then why this interest and partial identification with Africa? I think that behind the sentimental interest is a real realization that race and color play an important part in the world today. Until recent years, the white race has controlled the world. To be a non-white meant that a person had a subordinate, colonial or subject status. That has been changed to an extent—with the freedom of India, the rise of China, the independence of Burma—and is changing more every day. With every break in the color line, the position of the American Negro is advanced to an extent. With the coming to power of a strong, Negro, African country, the whole color bar will receive a death blow.

THEN WHAT about this question of dual citizenship, or dual allegiance? I don't believe that it is necessarily a problem of dual loyalty. It seems to me that an American Negro, or an American white, could be against the abuses of imperialism, could hate the economic and social exploitation of subject people by their European overlords without being disloyal or divided in his allegiance to

the United States.

What person who loved fair play would not object to the moving of three thousand Africans to make room for twenty-three Europeans in Tanganyika? What believer in democracy would fail to feel for the 5,000,000 Africans of Kenya who are ruled and exploited by the 30,000 whites of that territory? Who that believed in self-determination would not share the hopes of the people of the Gold Coast that it should rule itself. The point I am trying to make is that, over and above all of the sentimental identification because of race, there is a real and legitimate reason why both Negroes and whites should share the feeling of exaltation in the fight which Africa is putting up for her freedom. It is the American way to act.

CAYTON
Urban League's Tale
Of Three Cities Has
Weird Concepts Among
Its 'Impacted' Cliches

By HORACE CAYTON

I RECEIVED a little neatly covered pamphlet in the mail a few weeks ago entitled "A Tale of Three Cities" signed by NCL-UCDS.

I was delighted to find that it was a new kind of work from the National Urban League.

This gives me the opportunity to make a few remarks about Negro public relations.

In an age and country where public relations is essential to sell anything from soup to religion and health programs, the Negro has been very backward in developing this skill.

The Negro College Fund, the NAACP and the Urban League are changing all of this.

ITS IMPORTANCE goes be-

yond its present objective: available to any city that wants things like the piece at hand. The idea is a good colonial power. The struggle for survival is the contest with the Soviet Union: at present a cold war but with the ever-present threat of open and violent conflict. The backward section of hu-

manity are the one hundred and eighty million Africans. The prize is Africa. For that prize the colonial powers, especially England, are ready to make many concessions.

In a fourteen-page pamphlet, THE WRITING, although un-

the story of the United Com-

unity Defense program of out. I thought, however, that

the use of some jargon did

not help to make it as clearly

understandable as it might

have been.

For example, what on earth is a "service" impacted city?"

Or one "defense-impacted?" It is all right for the Urban League, or any social work organization to think in these weird concepts but it should not make the general public have to define the terms.

I would hate to have to write in a family newspaper what those words bring up in my mind.

And Freud slipped his ugly head in. The Seaport City was suffering from a "commu-

nity trauma." This same lo-

cality was "defense-impacted."

It made it a little tough all the way around: I don't blame them for sending for help.

It is tough to write without using these cliches but that is the only way to reach the public.

CAYTON
England Is Willing
To Make Many, Many
Concessions in Her
Move to Win Africa

By HORACE CAYTON

HISTORY has recorded in-

stance where he strug-

gle for survival of alien pow-

ers and empires drove a back-

ward section of humanity for-

ward to an unbroken period

of development. This is

what is happening in Africa.

The alien pow-



Mr. Cayton

ers are the co-

lonial powers.

The struggle

for survival is

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prize the colonial pow-

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England, are ready to

make many conces-

There are three things which make the holding of Africa necessary, not imperative, to the continued existence of the British Empire. They are men: 200 million in all that could be turned against the English if some concessions are not made; resources, perhaps the greatest untapped mineral resources of the world, much of which is vital for military purposes, and strategic military locations. For these three things England will make concessions—not all Englishmen, to be sure, not the die-hard conservatives, but more and more English leaders with enlightened self-interest are beginning to see that the Africans must be advanced and accepted if the Empire is to continue to exist. Here are some of the signs of the time.

CAYTON
England Is Willing
To Make Many, Many
Concessions in Her
Move to Win Africa

Although the two people involved may have had no other than romantic reasons, the marriage had a political significance, especially in its acceptance by political leaders. England knows that the Gold Coast must be granted its freedom in the near future but she wants to hold on just as long as pos-

sible, and after freedom is granted, she wants the good-will of the Gold Coasters.

Knowing what is involved politically England did not bat an eye at this mixed marriage. Make no mistake, to hold her power, England—not burdened as is the United States with deep-rooted hatred of colored people—will embrace subject people to hold them. This will not be the last of such mixed marriages if they will consolidate England's power on the African Continent.

THE CREATION of a new center of power in the Central African Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland is an attempt to bring some stability to that section of the Continent. Although set upon undemocratic lines every attempt is being made by the Mother Country to insure the maintenance of what rights the African people have and perhaps to expand them a bit. Recently when the territory was visited by the Queen's mother, African chiefs were entertained at garden parties along with the white population, in spite of the grumbling of the latter group. The idea was to show the Africans that in the eyes of the Crown there was no color line.

Even in Kenya, persons from the Colonial Office have insisted that the Mau Mau was not just Communist-inspired but arose in response to legitimate complaints on the part of some members of the Kenya Tribe. There is some talk that the willfulness of 30,000 white settlers should not endanger the building up of an East African Command which would be anchored in Kenya.

EVEN BELGIUM, certainly not an enlightened colonial power, is beginning to awaken to the fact that her vast and wealthy holdings in the Belgium Congo could not, under present conditions, put up any resistance against a Soviet enemy. She, like England, will, under the pressure of war—cold or real—make radical reforms.

Perhaps no people in the history of the world have been given their freedom. Freedom comes when people are ready, willing and able to take it. But there have been instances when, to protect themselves, rulers have forced captive peoples far on the road toward freedom. That is what is happening in

Africa today. It will continue to happen as long as the threat of Soviet Russia dictates such a policy.

CAYTON

White Settlers Don't Get Much Chance to Ride Polo Ponies With Mau Mau on Warpath

By HORACE CAYTON



How angry the Africans are can be judged by the precautions taken against them. Here are some of the rules for life in Kenya.

"Never," local papers, word of mouth, magazines, special pamphlets all suggest, "move an inch without your gun—even from your bedroom to the bathroom, or when you step into the hall to answer the telephone, or when you walk across to the liquor cabinet to make yourself a drink. Your gun should always be within reach of your hand, always loaded and cocked with the safety catch off . . . not buttoned up in a holster, not on the mantelpiece, not in your handbag or under a cushion; but always, always, always within inches of your hand—on your lap, on the arm of your chair, on the edge of the bath, on the table beside you. The criteria should be: can you shoot within one second?"

PEOPLE CAN live under those conditions—the English have done it before—but for how long?

Here is the reason one mother gave for sending her one-year-old daughter to the city a long and tedious journey from her farm.

"But it simply became too exhausting. If I went out to the garden for a few minutes for some flowers, I had to pick her up and take her along too. We used to put her to sleep in the living room and then carry her crib into the dining room with us when we went in for dinner. She didn't even get any fresh air because it was much easier to watch her indoors than out and at night all the bedrooms windows are kept tightly closed."

Up until quite recently Indians have held themselves completely from Negro students. In Africa they formed a middle group between the person being exploited: the Europeans but the English settlers, so and Africans: far, have been willing to pay not accepted the cost. How long before the by the Europeans and unwilling to associate themselves with the Africans. They, formal dinner party. "As the Indians were the trades-guests are seated, each man present is assigned a door or window to cover. Each sits Europe and the Chinese with his side to the table and throughout the Pacific, they eat and converses as best he can with the shopkeepers, the mid-men and the money lenders. They did the work and fixed on possible movements. They carried on the trade the European enters with the soup he means did not care to bother

THE AUTHOR describes a

with and the Africans did not have the capital or know-how to do themselves. In many instances they were exploiters of the Africans and much enmity still exists between the two groups for that reason.

THE EXTENT to which the Indians at one time were willing to go to make money is illustrated by their behavior in East Africa. Usually hotels for Europeans will not accept either African or Indian guests. The Indians were able, however, in some instances to buy these hotels. The practice was then to hire a European manager who might, and often did, refuse to accept as guests relatives of the Indian owners.

Since India has gained its independence, however, there has come a new pride and self-respect which no longer makes it necessary for the Indian to feel inferior to the European or to shun the African. Here are just a few instances which indicate the changing point of view.

Madame Pandit and the entire Indian delegation to the United Nations fought against the South African treatment of the Indian, but also were the champions who led the fight against South Africa's treatment of the African population. Their fight led to the appointment of a United Nations Commission to study the charges of racial discrimination. This committee will have its first meeting in Geneva on Aug. 3. Nehru's sister, as Nehru himself, has many Negro friends. Among the close friends of Madame Pandit in this country is P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Courier.

WHEN PRIME Minister Nehru visited the United States he took time off while in New York to visit with Negro leaders to learn first hand their point of view. In Africa the Prime Minister has led a movement to have the Indians abolish discrimination in their hotels and restaurants.

In South Africa the Indian Congress has cooperated with the Africans in their passive resistance campaigns.

Now it would seem that the shoe is on the other foot: rather than shunning the Africans

there is fear that the Indians might take an active role in aiding the African people in a struggle for greater freedom. One of the leading figures in British Africa south of the Equator, Michael Blundell, parliamentary leader of the Kenya settlers, has brought out into the open the fear and hostility toward Indians and India. The British in Kenya are outspoken in declaring that one of the essential purposes of federation of the territories of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was to keep the Indian out.

THERE IS something like four times as many one-time citizens of former British India in British East Africa as there are Europeans and their number is increasing as well as their predominance in commerce. England, herself, can do little about it as India is a member of the Commonwealth and the United Kingdom has important economic bonds with her. But the Europeans in Central Africa can and clearly intend to.

But it is not only the fear of competition which causes the Europeans in East Africa concern; among Kenya white settlers, who see themselves sinking in a flood of Indian penetration and native African hostility, there are few who do not believe that New Delhi, through its official and unofficial representatives, has encouraged and aided the rebellion of the Mau Mau.



Mr. Cayton

CAYTON

Author Contends
American Public
Subconsciously
Condones Lynching

By HORACE CAYTON

THE Tuskegee Institute report on the absence of lynchings from the American scene last year brings to mind a recent discussion concerning the proposed Federal Anti-Lynching Law.

Chester Himes and I had stopped by the apartment of Art W. W. W., one of the editors of A. A. Wyn, Publishers, to see Will Thomas, who was in the city working on a book to be published this spring. Will Thomas is the author of a novel, "God Is for White Folks," that was published several years ago and sundry other short stories and novelettes published under a variety of pseudonyms.

In 1946 he sold his home in Los Angeles, Calif., and with his wife, Helen Chapelle Smith, formerly a columnist for the California Eagle, and their three small children, moved to a small village in the vicinity of Burlington, Vt., in search of a life free from prejudice. This search by one Negro family for freedom within the confines of our nation comprises the theme of Will's book, "The Seeing."

HOWEVER, THE fact remains that the refusal of Congress to enact laws affecting criminal procedures within state jurisdictions does not necessarily indicate public apathy concerning the crimes in question. Our republican form of government delegates to the states the duty to punish all crimes committed within their sovereign boundaries. Each time the Federal Government encroaches on this solemn responsibility imposed on each state government, we are moving closer toward a centralization of police power, closer toward a police state.

SO IT was only natural that most of the conversation was concerned with the various aspects of racial prejudice. This type of racial conversation is known as "Beating the Boy." In the course of beating the boy, Will Thomas ventured the opinion that the fact that Congress has never enacted a Federal anti-lynching law is cer-

tainly strong evidence, if not conclusive, that the public condones lynching. Certainly, there is much to support this position. The total number of lynchings since 1892, according to the Tuskegee Institute report, is 4,726. It is difficult to conceive that a public actually concerned with this problem would remain apathetic in the face of nearly five thousand mob murders.

It was pointed out that the public indignation aroused by the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby was sufficient to force the passage of a Federal kidnapping law. If the kidnap murder of one white baby so outrages the public as to force Congress to take prompt and extreme action, it would seem that mob violence resulting in the murder of nearly five thousand innocent victims should have aroused a veritable tidal wave of public protest. The very number itself, more than all our soldiers killed in the Revolutionary War, should have horrified every person who professes to believe in justice and liberty. Our national consciousness should have become so burdened with guilt that passage of a Federal anti-lynching law should have become, not only obligatory, but mandatory. Therefore, if the public did not condone lynching, saying to itself, let the poor whites lynch the "niggers"—how does this concern us?—why this lack of irresistible public indignation? Why didn't we have an aroused North as in the years preceding the Civil War?

THIS WEEK'S Courier will begin to publish an important series of articles on South Africa by Dr. Homer Jack.

It is important that you read these articles. South Africa is the powder keg of the Western World.

Perhaps it would not be a bad idea to give you a little background material to keep in mind as you go through Dr. Jack's reports.

During the past meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, South

Africa was criticized in three different items of the agenda. The first was the treatment of people of Indian origin into be more the propaganda of the word than of the deed.

The danger lies in the fact that by delegating responsibility for law enforcement to Federal agencies, we will be It had never been satisfactorily dealt with. *Courier* which some would-be dictator of the future may seize control of the question of race tension in of the Government. Should we establish a Federal police system capable of enforcing such that is the attempt of the Federal legislation as an anti-South African Government to lynch law throughout the land, we might construct a South African whites to live in Frankenstein that destroys separate areas.

Lynching is on the wane. But McCarthyism is in its ascendancy. Nevertheless, despite all my efforts at objectivity, the old League of Nations by the long view of history, it would seem there should be some better explanation than that the absence from our Federal statutes of an anti-lynching law—in view of five thousand dead. I can not convince myself otherwise.

CAYTON

Some Background

Material on What

Dr. Jack's Writing

About This Week

By HORACE CAYTON

Dat. 1-10-53

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But certainly, the fundamental philosophy of the Malan Government remains the same and one would suspect that the sudden announcement of plans to improve the Negro's position will turn out to be more the propaganda of the word than of the deed.



Mr. Cayton

CAYTON

The Next U. S. Negro
UN Delegate Will Have
Power and Prestige;
Might Well Be a Woman

By HORACE CAYTON

THERE are two reasons why we can expect an appointment to the UN. In the first place, it is time for the President to make an appointment in view of his campaign promises. At this writing, no Negro has been given a good job and they are rapidly running out.

The second factor is that the General Assembly will meet in the near future. The American delegation is not filled, but some appointments have been made.

I do not doubt that the appointment will be made. It has to be done. Let us leave the President out of our thinking for a while and see why this must be done. Eyes of the world this country has been held as a land that says one thing and then does another—that preaches democracy and then allows incredible things to happen to its minority and has supported European colonialism in Africa.

THE ENTIRE world knows this. It is spoken about behind diplomatic doors in every world capital. In some, it is spoken about out loud. It has even reached the floor of the United Nations itself.

Russia is most vocal in pointing out that we act one way and talk another. But Russia is not alone. The African-Asian-Indian bloc is becoming just as articulate. Even the members of the so-called Western and colonial powers—England, France and Belgium—whisper criticisms in the delegates' lounges.

They can't say them out



Mr. Cayton

loud; they owe us too much money and want more and we play their colonial game.

BUT IT ALL adds up to the general idea that many nations, for what ever reasons they have, and they vary widely, are not taking America so seriously when we talk about democracy.

That is why, regardless of any other reason, President Eisenhower will make this appointment and make it soon. At least that is my prediction.

The next question is who is going to get the position.

That is one question I would not attempt to answer, at least at this writing. My guess is that it will be a woman. Further, I would think that this woman will be placed on the Human Rights Commission and have much of the same work to do as that the wife of the late President enjoyed.

AFRICA IS the hottest news in the world today. From South Africa to Tunisia the continent is in flame. On most of the questions we voted with the colonial power against the best interests of the African people. Some times we would do it in the name of gradualism; another time we would stand on some technical point.

But it all worked out in the end that we were voting with the people engaged in ruthless exploitation. The Arabs don't like this for their reasons. The Indians, under the leadership of Madame Pandit, have been eloquent in their criticism. Prof. Ahmed S. Bokhari, for Pakistan, in perhaps the strongest language that has been used on the floor of the United Nations, called the South African situation "the stinking mess."

Because of this, our delegate will be given great worldwide prestige.

THE TWO-THIRDS of the world who are not white demands it. The continent of Africa commands it. The terror in Kenya necessitates it. It has got to come: Time is running out.

This next meeting of the General Assembly will not take up such dramatic questions as those of the Wa-Meru tribe of Tanganyika, or the struggle for freedom from the French of Tunisia and Morocco, or the demands for self-government.

What will happen will be more important to non-whites.

One important issue, will be the choosing of the next Secretary-General.

MR. LIE has said he does not want the job. He announced it at a press conference for the UN correspondents. I do not believe a corporal's guard of us believed him. So, theoretically he is out. That means that there is going to be a struggle for power; a back stage fight. This fight will determine to a great extent the fate of Africa and black peoples all over the world.

That is why the next Negro member of the American delegation, and there will be one, will have great power and prestige.

CAYTON

N. Y. Times Writer
Pens Misleading Article
on South Africa; Would
Have Us Think 'Things
Not So Bad'

By HORACE CAYTON



Mr. Cayton

or Houston or Kansas City."

Having established to his satisfaction the general similarity of Johannesburg to American Southern and border cities the author goes on to make some detailed comparisons.

In the matter of housing he says, "If he (the American visitor) was taken on a tour of the locations, the Negro shack cities, he would be all the more convinced that he was in the Southern United States."

APPARENTLY Mr. Ross has a superficial knowledge of how some Negroes in Dallas, Houston or Kansas City live. I do not mean to say that there is not bad housing in those cities. But nothing in any of them would compare with conditions in South Africa.

From housing our reporter then turns to the matter of clothes. We are informed that the Witwatersrand native dresses "like many American Negroes," he says, "strolling, stepping out in the streets of Johannesburg with a banjo and making that banjo talk—and you are right back in the streets of New Orleans on a hot night."

Then there is the matter of social behavior. Here the Times' man gets poetic. "You can see groups of young Negroes," he says, "strolling, stepping out in the streets of Johannesburg with a banjo and making that banjo talk—and you are right back in the streets of New Orleans on a hot night."

IF YOU are not using your banjo I would like to borrow it and go uptown tonight.

The language of the Negro in South Africa and that of the Negro in Southern and border cities in the United States is about the same, our researcher informs us: it has a fascinating, liquid tone.

But wait! Of all of these things which are so similar, the thing which makes you feel most at home is the laughter. But let me quote our Journalist.

"BUT THERE is nothing that makes it feel so much like home as the sound of Negro laughter—the whole-hearted, deep-throated laughter at the often difficult business of living that the Negro has brought to the American scene."

I didn't know that I had such a deep-throated laugh until I

came across Mr. Ross' piece.

Why would a man with the ability of a New York Times writer turn out such a piece. I have my ideas about that. South Africa has taken a severe beating in the press of the civilized world.

During the past session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, South Africa was held up to world scorn for her attempts to take over the territory of South West Africa, for her treatment of people of Indian origin and for her attempt to practice complete racial separation. No other country with the exception of Germany has received as bad press notices as has South Africa.

BUT THEREIN lies the difficulty. Perhaps some people are beginning to think that our press has gone just a little too far. After all, we still want to do business with South Africa. We want their gold and their uranium. We loaned them thirty-five million to develop uranium plants and are considering, or have, loaned them twenty-five million more for the same purpose.

It would become increasingly harder to justify loans if our press continues to scorn them. So it might be wise to point out that after all they are just about like ourselves.

CAYTON

England Is Unwilling
To Resolve Religious
Differences Existing
In Seething Nigeria

By HORACE CAYTON

AFRICA CONTINUES to seethe. This time it is Nigeria.

At this writing the death toll in political rioting at Kano, Northern Nigeria, has risen to thirty-two persons. More than 200 persons have been injured

in the factional political violence that broke out during last weekend and has continued. The situation has been reported as "getting out of hand."

The Government already

has declared a state of emergency throughout Northern Nigeria and rushed police reinforcements to the scene.

The unfortunate aspect of the rioting is that it is Nigerians against Nigerians and no against the British.

AWOLOWO, LEADER of the Action Group party of the Western Region and Azikiwe, who heads the National party of the Eastern Region have come out for complete independence of the country by 1956.

The Northern Region, whose population is largely Moslem and feudal, dislikes the idea of possible Southern domination by the Christians and pagans as much as they dislike British rule.

The riots began when supporters of the People's Congress representing 11,000 Moslems demonstrated against a meeting of the rival Action Group. The Moslems fear domination by Nigeria's non-Moslem majority and want self-rule only "when practical."

THIS SITUATION is unfortunate.

It will give aid and comfort to the English who are not anxious to give up "the India of West Africa." It will also please Prime Minister Malan and the Nationalists in South Africa who fear and hate any independent black nation in Africa. It will give ammunition to white Europeans in Kenya who are facing the Mau Mau.

But such conflicts are inevitable where sharp religious differences exist. Not only in Nigeria but in many other parts of Africa there will be differences, conflicts and perhaps even warfare between the Moslems and the Christians and pagans when these territories strive for self-rule.

There is a possibility that in Nigeria, as was true in the case of Pakistan and India, a split in the country which might result in a division of the territory, is possible.

The British Government, it would appear, gives its blessing to such an eventuality. It would mean that eventual independence would be put off and when granted each section would be more dependent on the "mother country."

ONE SHOULD not be sur-

prised that England would try every tactic to keep control of the territory. The British colony and protectorate of Nigeria spreads over 373,000 square miles of West Africa. It has a population of 30 million; it is one and a half times as large as Texas. It is the fourth unit in population in the whole British Commonwealth.

British rule in Nigeria, all things considered, has not been too bad as judged by usual colonial standards. But needy England is in a poor position to play "mother country" to any territory.

The position between Nigeria and Great Britain has, at best, been unequal: at its worst, it is exploitative. Certainly the surge of nationalism throughout Nigeria cannot be satisfied under continued English rule. Sooner or later Nigeria, either united or divided, will break away from the crown.

But Nigeria is also important to the United States. It cannot be looked upon simply as a British colony or a British problem. The New York Times in a recent editorial lamenting the riots, gave three reasons why the United States should be concerned with the problems of the territory.

In the first place, the Times stated, Nigeria is important to the United Kingdom. Given our alliance with England against Russia, anything which would weaken England would be of consequence to us.

In the second place, what happens to Nigeria will have ramifications on all of Africa south of the Sahara. Thirdly, America had an airfield in Kano in the second World War. Presumably she would want more air strip in any war which would follow

THE TIMES' editorial, however, arrives at the position that in view of the riots, "The Nigerians are proving that they are not ready for self-government in 1956."

31a 1953

NEGRO (MRS. REBECCA STILES TAYLOR-DODSON)



WEDS MINISTER—Mrs. Rebecca Stiles Taylor, federated clubs' columnist for the Chicago Defender, and nationally known club and fraternal leader, whose marriage to the Rev. Mar. J. Dodson on Nov. 9 was disclosed this week. The groom, who has retired from pastoring is an A. M. E. Zion church evangelist. The couple are at home at 3224 Prairie ave. in Chicago.

GARDNER

Where Are The Negro Major League Stars Coming From?

As this column is being written, the Brooklyn Dodgers and the New York Yankees are playing that all-important game in the World Series. The whole nation and people at many points overseas have just received another message—Junior Gilliam has just hit his second home run of the series.

He was in there with his team until the last man was out in the ninth inning trying to beat the New York Yankees. He is the National League's rookie of the year. *Chicago, Ill.* Chicago, Ill.

Thanks to the American way of life now, baseball fans in general are as proud of him for his athletic

prowess as they are of Mickey Mantle, Yogi Berra, Duke Snider, Pee Wee Reese and others of interest, it is obvious that if we do not support these leagues, en-

both teams.

Regardless of the outcome of the great series, Gilliam, a young man has acquitted himself well and has been a great competitor in what many believe to be Amer-

ics greatest recreation. This makes him, and the other players

gloves? *But 10-53* Of course in some instances col-

race. That is no small distinction. colored boys may have other means by which they may rise to fame, but the Negro American and Na-

tionals with a great future in front of him. Far be it to ever take anything from the trail-blazers. The feats of players of old time such as Jackie Robinson, Larry Doby, Satchel Paige, Roy Campanella, Monte Irvin, and Henry Thompson. *P. 9*

Some of these stars have several more good seasons left in them but Father Time will catch them long before he beckons to son, Howard Emke, Gabby Hartnett, "Dizzy" Dean and Paul Dean. Gilliam, Bruton, Willie Mays, Don Newcombe, Hoskins and a few others like Banks and Baker of the colored players of yesteryear the Chicago Cubs and Bob Boyd were as great as the white ones of the Chicago White Sox.

What makes us almost shudder players themselves. But the bars is the fact that the bottom of were up the barrel is being scraped now "Me an' Paul an' Satchel Paige for Negro baseball players of ma-kin whip any team in the major league calibre. The source leagues," "Dizzy" Dean is creditor from which most of the players ed with having once said. Now that the bars are down named in this column came from and every American youth of has almost been destroyed — the whatever racial extraction has the

opportunity to playing in the big leagues, Negro fans particularly should help them develop by supporting the junior baseball circuits.

It is obvious now that the fans themselves have all but killed the main source from which can come colored major league prospects.

As a race, Negroes have learned many skilled occupations during the last half century. They have learned to build factories, homes, autos, airplanes, etc.

Building more men by urging them to compete against anyone in athletics should be one of the first things on our racial progress agenda.

We must do more for our youth. Through proper development they will bring great joy and satisfaction to us such as Gilliam has done in the 1953 World Series. It's the American way, the Christian way, the decent thing to do.

Chicago, Ill.

Race Relations

Hugh GARDNER

Chicago Negro Voters Lose Their Best Chance By Carelessness

Chicago's colored citizens perhaps learned the lesson of their lives last week when they missed a chance to elect two of their own racial extraction to a high court bench.

To make it even worse, one of the defeated candidates helped to put the measure through the Illinois legislature creating eight new county town vote and Jenkins seats on the *Superior* court bench.

Thus, the history of the Negro's political activity in Chicago has a black page or two with the names of two martyrs on them, State Representative Charles J. Jenkins and Municipal Court Henry C. Ferguson.

They both had a great opportunity to serve the entire Cook county community on the bench just like judges of other racial extractions have, but this was denied them by the carelessness of their own people, whom above all others regardless of their station in life should know how important it is for Negroes to be represented in all branches of the city, county, state and national government.

Anyone looking over the entire voting populace would naturally think that since it was a known fact Ferguson and Jenkins both would need help, it would come principally from the people of the candidates' race. It didn't and that's a bigger tragedy than people want to realize now. They seem sorry, but they just shrug their shoulders. Maybe they didn't want themselves. Never before did this belief seem so probable as it does

After a year-around plea of the Negro press to go register and vote, after a month long three-way, press, radio and TV campaign for every citizen to go to the polls and help select men who are to sit in judgment of them, the majority of the people in the Negro wards failed to take advantage of this privilege.

The miserable record in the Second ward, a Democratic strong hold, show over 48,000 registered voters with less than 16,000 of his plight constantly even as them voting in the all-important election last Tuesday. The same election ran in the heavily populated Third, Fourth and 20th wards.

moments in race relations. But this pain we are going through in Chicago today came from intra-race relations.

Little can be said now except that everyone will try to do better next time, and at all times from now try to realize the fitness of things. We should get our house in order before protesting about one thing!

Pulpit and press in the North have been hammering for years for Negro citizens to exercise their birthright. There have been occasions when the colored voters in the same Chicago wards have risen to heights in the exercise of where the Democratic machine is their polling privilege. People could still predominant. State Rep. Jenkins ran well in the county towns great city where one may participate in the affairs of government. People . . . our people still in the South took our word about our triumphs at the polls. In hostile and dangerous territory right now they are trying to emulate us, by braving threats and even paying poll tax in some locales in order to vote election day.

Just as they have turned to Chicago colored people to show them what could be done in the South, what happened last Tuesday?

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It seems that from the struggle since Emancipation, even the most illiterate Negro would be conscious of his plight constantly even as they voting in the all-important election last Tuesday. The same election ran in the heavily populated Third, Fourth and 20th wards.

31a 1953

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor

The Humiliation of Separate But Equal

"Daddy why do we have to drink from separate water fountains when we go shopping?" This question is perhaps familiar to every parent, living in the land of "separate but equal." It is also one of the most difficult questions to give an adequate answer, unless however, you can become content with telling your child how different he is from other people, and that because of this difference, he must lead a different role in life from that of other human beings. You must also be very careful when you tell him about his difference for fear of branding him with a feeling of inferiority. There is simply no vantage point from which one can give a real answer, for the whole practice is irrational, void of logic and certainly has no place in modern democratic society. But how can you explain this to your youngsters? The same difficulty is present when you try to explain conditions of a similar nature.

There is the story of the white woman who stood at the head of the line waiting to be served in a dining car. She was holding a small child. The complete story of disgust could be read through her eyes for her face revealed the rigors of pain and humiliation. There were two available tables. I occupied one of them. A large curtain separated these tables from the rest of the dining car. There I sat, a ~~white~~ customer, sitting and eating while women and children of a different color stood in line. I know some of these children must have asked the same question. "Mother why can't we sit at one of those tables?"

Then there is the story of the woman passenger who tried to purchase a ticket at the bus station in Atlanta. She almost missed the bus because clerks were slow in giving her a ticket. When she pleaded with the cashier to let her have a ticket because her bus was leaving in five minutes, she received a reply that, buses are always leaving." There was no apology made for the filthy surroundings at the terminal, the long waiting line and smoke-filled waiting room for Negro patrons. Many of these patrons, even though they paid the same rate of fare, would have to stand back and wait for bus to be filled to a certain portion before being told to enter.

You can never explain to your child why you have to stand in line at railroad stations waiting to buy your ticket through an iron cage. The premises here are just as deplorable. Rest rooms and food counters are disgusting to observe. It seems fantastic that the health department would allow these places to operate. In light of sanitation conditions, these places are a menace to health and a focus of infection to all the people.

We could go on and on relating incident after incident growing out of conditions based on the theory of separate but equal.

WILLIAM GORDON

There is a saying however, that if water falls on a rock long enough the rock will eventually disappear. In light of this, we should have started our fight against the separate but equal theory generations ago.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor

A Challenge To The Colleges

Apathy has retarded the South long enough. Faculty members of Negro colleges and universities know this better than anyone else today and this may be one of the reasons why they are trying to do something about conditions in the region.

A group of enlightened professors from the Atlanta University system met recently and discussed some of the aspects of the changing South and the effects of industrialization upon Negro youths in this area. Such a meeting was most significant. The major fact here is that the South is in the midst of a social, political and economic transition. In order to keep pace with this change, the Negro more than anyone else must be prepared to adjust himself to a rapidly developing industrial society. The old frontiers no longer exists. Today, we are facing a new pattern of life altogether, one far more complex and intricate.

Under the direction of Dr. L. D. Reddick, chief librarian of Atlanta University a pamphlet has been released containing a memorandum to college presidents and deans indicating what is rapidly taking place in the new South and a recommendation to what should be done to integrate Negro youth. The meeting is really a challenge to colleges and universities and their methods of programming. The fact that the South is changing and that the Negro makes up a large segment of its population, is not to be taken for granted. If the Negro is to get full participation in Southern industry, there must be an initial program of training and direction by the colleges and universities. Industry alone will not do the job, at least not for Negroes. There must be some effort on our part to enlighten youngsters, get them equipped as much as possible for technical and clerical use, and then go even further to get them into available jobs in Southern industry.

In Atlanta, however, there is a very unique approach to this problem. The fact that the colleges here do not have all the necessary facilities to fulfill training requirements, they at least have enlightened leadership, alert and anxious to do something about the situation. To have a full realization of the needs for the region and what should be done to fit our youths properly into society is far ahead of much of the reasoning found in other areas in the South. Negro youths go to schools and colleges to better their lot socially, politically and economically. The latter factor is the most important, for once out of school they must be able to make a living and fill their place in society, together with other Americans. The problem of finding the right kind of job in the region of his birth has always been a major dilemma for the Negro. Consequently, he has migrated out of this region to "greener pastures," North and West. The South has suffered from this problem of constant migration. The Negro colleges and universities today face a challenge... a challenge to save for this region a large segment of the skill and potential manpower this region has been losing constantly over the years because so much of its leadership is bigoted beyond cure and is too apathetic to realize how much is being lost by the South through prejudice.



REVIEWING THE NEWS

31 a Negro
By **WILLIAM GORDON**

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World.

Many Among Us Are Against Violence

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — (SNS) — The incident is almost as clear in my mind today as it was when it happened and that was more than seven years ago. I can still see this tall, steady, weather-beaten army colonel standing there near the trucks helping soldier after soldier into the vehicles. There is a basic reason for the clearness. I was one of those soldiers.

Colonel Locke, Southern born, was a army "regular" who had spent more than eighteen years serving his country. He had developed high respect for manhood and defended and fought hard for others who had their country at heart. The true texture of this southerner came to surface one Saturday afternoon when troops under his command were trying desperately to get transportation into town.

Entered P. 6 Birmingham
More than a hundred of us had been standing near the camp entrance most of the morning and much of the afternoon waiting for busses that failed to pick us up. The fact is, no one seemed to care if we got into town or not. We were just a bunch of men in uniform who happened to be of a different color. At least it seemed that way until Colonel Locke came on the scene.

"How long have these men been standing here?" the officer asked. Some one said, "more than three hours sir."

Without uttering another word this big frame of a man moved over to a telephone and called the camp headquarters. He asked why these soldiers had been refused transportation into town. No one heard the reply, but it could be easily understood that, Negroes were not allowed on the busses even though they were in uniform. What came over the phone was apparently not pleasant for the color of his face revealed disgust.

Only a few minutes had passed when a fleet of trucks from the motor pool rolled up to the gate and soldiers began to climb in while the Colonel stood there assisting.

Some of us learned later that this was not the first time this man had come to the rescue of Negro soldiers. There was a time when a storm hit the camp and the colored area became flooded. The men having no place to go, he marched them to the main area. They were refused shelter with the other soldiers until this southern Colonel stepped in and gave orders. Peace followed his orders and the men, both colors got to know each other. This man was a southerner yet he moved without violence and got results.

Soldiers would frequently watch him as he moved about the camp. He would always come around handing out cigars, candy and frequently stopping and chatting with those whose uniforms looked neat and correct.

He liked to see the men happy and he worked to make this possible. He was always getting into hot water because he live

and followed those principles dictated by his conscience. He was loved by the men serving under his command and many of them learning of his retirement in later years, doubted if there could ever be other men more thorough and genuine.

I haven't heard of the Colonel since his retirement, but wherever he is or whatever he is doing, one can be sure that it is for the betterment of those with whom he associates or who work under him. Moreover, there are many such Colonels in our midst today if only we would look around and examine the people in our Southern communities.

Those of us who predict violence whenever there is social change are not being thorough or genuine in our reasoning. In the army I met only one Colonel Locke. This is not to say that people like this great army officer are far in between. They are not. To get proof of this we only have to look at what has happened in the United States during the past decade.

We are a shining example of this proof when we visit the Southern institutions of higher learning and meet the Negro students who have not only been accepted, but who are respected and liked by the whites there.

Another example is what has happened in politics. Negroes have been elected to school boards, city councils and other municipal posts. Doubt is further eliminated when we walk the streets of southern cities and meet and greet young Negroes, graceful and intelligent draped in police uniforms.

What seems to be a magic wand has brought about a fantastic change in the past decade and there will be other changes as time goes on. The important thing is that no violence has followed these changes. There have been many predictions but very few incidents to substantiate the predictions. The real fact is it seems, there are many more Colonel Lockes among us than we realize. They are the greatest exponents of social change and they are also the greatest barriers against violence. There are many genuine southerners who realize this.

Between The Lines

By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK for AMP

The Atlanta Negro

The Atlanta Negro represents a heroic species. His like is not to be found in all these United States of America nor in the United Nations of the world. That the Atlanta Negro happened in Atlanta and Georgia shows the infinite possibilities of mankind, the darker races included.

When Atlanta goes on display, her real show place is in Negro Atlanta. The things white Atlanta offers have been seen times without number in the most parts of the earth but what Negro Atlanta shows is something different.

It would rejoice the heart of the late Booker T. Washington to turn once more to the Atlanta where he made the world armed appeal for Negroes to let down their buckets where they were. And so the Negroes of Atlanta let down and what a draught! Negro Atlanta's education center represents one of the finest departures in education to be found in all the world. With Spellman, Morehouse, Clark, Morris Brown, Gammon and Atlanta and The School of Social Work combined into a mighty university, we have promise of great things tomorrow, even as they are great things to ay.

When one goes about Atlanta and sees what is transpiring in Talmadge land, even as it was once the land of Hoke Smith, Tom Watson, Hardwick and Talmadge in the Elder, one is forced to marvel, "What hath God wrought!"

In the vise where the Negro has been squeezed the tightest, the Negro has risen the highest. Under a Jim Crow regime and conditions of life the Negro has displayed an unequalled courage and determination without a parallel in history. When one sees what has happened in Atlanta one is forced to conclude that the white South is not but so bad; otherwise such progress as that exhibited by the Atlanta Negro would be impossible.

What has taken place in Atlanta in a big way has taken place in a lesser degree throughout the south. It is a compliment to the south and to the Negroes, who in spite of handicaps have wrought mightily.

nalism highly complimentary to its publishers and to Atlanta.

The third Atlanta is the combined white and Negro Atlantas which make a city in a class by itself and a marvel of progress and industry. Negroes and whites throughout this country with profit run excursions to Atlanta to see Atlanta and to see the Negro at his best.

The Negroes who attend the approaching Elks Convention to be held in Atlanta are in for the finest time they have ever had anywhere in these United States. It will be worth all that is invested in the trip to see the wonder of the Twentieth Century world. The Atlanta Negro, who easily represents the Negro race at its best.

Negroes and whites, go to Atlanta and see Negro Atlanta and see what God has wrought!

12-3

ay.

Voters' Vineyard

31. a near

By James Hicks

Anne Hedgeman
works a miracle

THERE'S NO TWO ways about it, you just can't substitute eagerness and willingness for experience and "know how."

This statement was brought home to the door of the Democratic party last week in the campaign of Robert Wagner and Hulan Jack to win the mayor's and Manhattan borough president's seat in the city of New York.

For weeks newspapermen and others in the Harlem community were wondering when the Wagner - Jack campaign would get "off the ground." Political observers trained to shift the wind in politics were expressing amazement that the Wagner-Jack ticket hadn't started rolling yet and the election was only a week or so away.

Didn't Know How

Those who went to the Wagner headquarters as this reporter did were even more amazed to find that the workers on the ticket were actually working hard but simply didn't know how to put the show on the road.

This was particularly true in Harlem where the absence of any political activity by Mr. Jack actually caused some to whisper that the Democrats were purposely keeping Jack in hiding in the hopes that many people outside of Harlem would think he was a white man and therefore vote for him.

This may sound ridiculous but it was that bad.

Everyone was acting like an amateur — and then a professional stepped in. The professional was none other than Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman whom this writer has previously stated, has forgotten more about politics than many politicians in New

York will ever know.

Sought Gimmick

The Democrats were searching around for a gimmick which would attract some of the voting people of Harlem other than the true Democrats. They were told that in order to get them to rally around they had to corral a public figure of stature whom Harlem respected and loved.

Two names were suggested as being people who could command such respect. They were Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and W. Averill Harriman.

The Democrats admitted that this was true but also were forced to admit that they could not produce either Harriman or Mrs. Roosevelt. They said "no body can get them to a public meeting."

Anne Hedgeman stepped up and said "I can."

Then while everyone sat back to have the laugh on her she picked up the phone and got both Mrs. Roosevelt and Harriman to agree to attend a meeting. This was done mind you when the bigwigs downtown said it simply couldn't be done.

Then Anne went to work. The big problem had been to pull all the warring leaders and factions of Harlem together under one roof.

Invited To Tea

Anne sent out invitations for a tea in the Mirror Room of the Biltmore Hotel. She invited people across party lines and didn't skin anybody.

When one saw it unfold it was amazing that so many other allegedly smart people wouldn't have thought of the same thing. The magic of Mrs. Roosevelt, the Mirror Room downtown in the Biltmore worked wonders. Factions of Harlem who have sworn never to be caught dead under the same roof turned out enmasse.

Mrs. Nettie Jackson, the Grand Daughter Ruler of the Elks showed up. The Rev. Asa pansa Johnson whose interdenominational minister's alliance has followed a "go it alone" policy for years turned up in support of the party.

Dr. Channing Tobias was there with all his dignity. Charlie and Bessie Buchanan of the Savoy who can feel the pulse of Harlem better than any couple around, were in the crowd too.

Others including Mrs. Inez Gums Dickens, Archibald Ray, Maudie Gadsen of the Beauticians, Fannie Robinson, Mrs. James Watson, The Darwin Teleford, Mrs. Earl Brown,

A Near Miracle

After they came, Anne further demonstrated her professionalism: No one was given a chance to steal the scene. The candidates were located on the dais and everyone else sat back and watched them. Even Congressman Powell was not given a chance to sound off. Those who know Harlem consider this a near miracle.

The white people of course turned out too and by the time the meeting was over the party's fences had been mended, the warring factions were slapping each other on the back and when they left Bob Wagner and Hulan Jack were away and running for the offices which were given them by the voters of New York.

And when they get in office it is unlikely that Anne Hedgeman will allow them to forget who helped to put them there.

She's not like that when it comes to politics — she is too professional!



Mr. Hicks



By
JAMES
HICKS



Negro (James Hicks)

LAS VEGAS, Nev. — Out here where the big atomic mushrooms grow, a local paper quotes singer Billy Daniels as saying that he plans to buy a few lots out in West Las Vegas and build a group of homes which he will rent to colored people for a \$100 a month.

We hope the article is not true. This may sound odd to you as a reader. You may say "What's wrong with Billy building some houses and renting them to colored people? I tell you to fire go and take a look at West Las Vegas."

West Las Vegas is a disgrace to a city in which it is difficult to disgrace anyone for the simple reason that just about anything in the world goes in Las Vegas. It's the most wide-open town in the world.

Section Of Squalor

But the West Side is still a disgrace. West Las Vegas is a place in the desert which was once the outskirts of town where the white people have pushed the colored people and the colored people have apparently willingly gone because the white people wanted them to go.

Nowhere else in America have I ever seen a sharper line of demarcation between Jim Crow and freedom. You simply cross a line from wealth and luxury and walk across the street into an unpaved section of squalor.

There are 5,000 colored people in Las Vegas and as near as could be learned 5,000 live in West Las Vegas. They live in small huts with outhouses right out in the desert. A shoeshine is a mockery. A room with bath is a joke.

No Jim Crow Laws

Yet there is no law in the books anywhere in Las Vegas which says that colored people cannot live elsewhere, that they can't gamble downtown with the whites, that they can't live in the hotels, that they can't eat in the restaurants.

Yet colored people don't do any of these things in Las Ve-

gas. It's just accepted by both sides that colored people will go to the West Side when they want to do any of those things.

Colored people in Las Vegas need some decent housing. The Almighty, himself, will bear witness to that. But if Billy Daniels goes out there and builds some, he will only be perpetuating the horrible thing that has already stultified the progress of the colored people of this city.

There are hundreds of acres of land in other parts of the city which will be readily sold to Billy if he puts up his money. And this column has it from some of the top officials around the city that there will be no objection from anyone if colored people move in.

They can't object. Why then go out to the West Side. If Billy leader Lillian Sharpe Hunter is builds a decent house out there considering going into the un-ploughed up field.

We can only hope that what we read was not true.

Back In "Bigtown"

(We just hopped a United Airlines Mainliner from Las Vegas and here we are 12 hours later finishing this from the good old Big Town)

Our photographer, Jimmy Campbell, met us at the airport and here are some notes off his cuff in answer to our question of "What's happening?"

Charlie Buchanan of the Savoy had a birthday Tuesday. The Urban League dinner at the Waldorf was a sellout affair. The Pres Club's luncheon, at which the organization gave writer Nora Holt \$250 bucks, brought out the town.

Lester Walton was principal speaker; Judge Harold Stevens was on hand; and guest artist Riri Grist, a student at Long Island University, set the town talking about her great voice.

The award to Nora set a precedent so far as this reporter can learn, for it's the first time we've ever heard of a press club being able to award one of its members a substantial sum of cold cash. All of this was made

possible by the Frankfort Distillers.

In case you don't know it, it's the Frankfort Distillers who put so much joy and happiness in bottles and label them Four Roses or Hunter's.

Pat Younger Year Older

Pat Younger, niece of dancer Tondelayo, had a "Sweet 16" party last Friday at Bowman's melody room up on the Hill. The party began at 10 p.m. and ended at 2 a.m. in the dawning. When my sister was 16 she had to be in bed at 10.

Time marches on in the Big Town. The town is watching the police Brutality fiasco and waiting on word from City Hall as to what the mayor is going to do about Chief Monaghan.

Here's one we've got to check. The report is that Republican leader Lillian Sharpe Hunter is building a decent house out there considering going into the un-ploughed up field.

We can only hope that what we read was not true.

Back In "Bigtown"

(We just hopped a United Airlines Mainliner from Las Vegas and here we are 12 hours later finishing this from the good old Big Town)

Here's one we've got to check.

They can't object. Why then go out to the West Side. If Billy leader Lillian Sharpe Hunter is

builds a decent house out there considering going into the un-

it will stand like a lily in a dertaking business. About three

years from now, she should be

able to make a lot of money

burying starving Democrats!

Voters' Vineyard

By James Hicks

You Can Blame It On Bill Dawson

IF THIS COLUMN does not square well with you, you can blame it on Congressman William L. Dawson of Illinois. About two years ago Dawson convinced this writer that every man, especially every colored man, must be a politician, whether he wants to be one or not.

We were seated in a luxurious suite at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel where Dawson was staying and I remember it well. Dawson said. "Some of my people walk around and say 'I

job as an American newspaperman. This is my part of politics. This makes me a politician. If you go out simply and register to vote you become a politician too."

Let's look at it another way. When someone commits a serious crime the federal government will take away from him the privilege of voting. In short the government more or less ostracizes him.

Badge Of Courage

This seems to mean then that if a man is not a registered voter he falls in one of these categories: He either has committed a serious crime and the government took his privilege away from him, or he doesn't have the brains to realize that voting is a privilege which he cannot buy.

I say then that your name on the voting lists in your district, or your paid up poll tax receipt in states where there is a poll tax, should be worn like a red badge of courage.

Look around you. Look at the person up front. Is he a registered voter? Ask him. Check on him. He should be proud to tell you.

Voters'

Vineyard

By James Hicks

ASKS IS FREEDOM WORTH YOUR \$5

THE LATEST MOVE by the United States Supreme Court in the school segregation cases

should be a signal for every colored person in the United States, who is old enough to go out and register to vote and then join the NAACP.

It seems to this writer that the Supreme Court in calling for re-argument of the school segregation cases is saying to colored America: "You're right — you have a good case and you can win it — but you've got to show that you want your freedom and

are willing to pay for it."

To me, the abolition of segregation in the schools where it now exists will be just about the same as making a four lane highway out of the small crooked alley which is now Freedom Road.

Just Mix Concrete

And it seems to me that the Supreme Court is saying "We'll give you colored people the right of way and the contract to pave that road, but you must be willing to sweat to mix the concrete, haul the sand and spread it along the way."

And what is his concrete, sand and sweat that the court is talking about? Well from where we sit it means a willingness to get out and forget petty differences and work together to such an extent that if and when the court does eradicate school segregation, the Court itself will be able to say:

"This was the right thing to do. Fifteen millions of our colored Americans demanded it."

There are those who will say that the Court will not be influenced by the unity of fifteen million Americans on one subject. I say that's a lie.

I say that the courts of this land are influenced by the weight of public opinion — that they do read the papers, listen to the radio and are sensitive to what the man in the street is thinking and saying.

One small example. A white lawyer recently came to me in the New York State Supreme Court and offered me ten dollars a day just to sit in the first row of a judge's courtroom in which he was trying a case.

I was puzzled and asked him what it was all about. The lawyer explained to me that he was trying a case before a Supreme Court judge. He said he knew he could win the case if the judge would permit him to present a good legal argument, but that he was Jewish.

The judge who was Irish, was unfairly ruling out every legal argument he tried to present, he explained.

Sensitive About Press

He then went on to explain that the case involved a colored church, that the judge was sensitive to what appeared about him in the colored papers and that a colored reporter's presence in the room would at least make the judge be fair.

I did not accept his money, but I did attend the case for two days. I had only been in the court room for five minutes when the judge called a court attendant to his desk, whispered

something to him, and in short order the attendant came over to me and asked who I was, what I was writing and what was my interest in the case.

The lawyer won the case. I can't claim any credit and would not try — but the point is made that lawyers and others working around courts know how much the wheels of justice are influenced by what other people say and do.

NAACP Needs Support

Now suppose instead of three or four million colored people registered to vote out of fifteen million, we had eight million? And suppose the NAACP which is fighting school segregation could walk in that court with eight million registered voters behind it who are also members of the NAACP?

Do you think that would make any difference in the weight on our side? If you don't you are more naive than most white people are.

And look how easy it is. Just go on out and register to vote for nothing or pay your poll tax. Then spend just two dollars for a membership in the NAACP. The whole thing could cost you less than five dollars in some places.

Isn't it worth it? Isn't it worth five dollars to you to know that your kid and my kid will never have to sit in a jim crow classroom to learn his ABC's.

Go on out and do it, will you. You'll be happy that you did!

PRAISE FOR FIGHTING LAWYERS:

Heroes Of Equality Fight

31 a Neg
By JAMES L. HICKS

NEW YORK — This is one for the NAACP lawyers — and it's not going to be the last.

I was just sitting here thinking. I can sit here in New York and write that "Hummon" Talmadge and Jimmy Byrnes are a truckload of "SOBs" if I feel so inclined. If I stay away from South Carolina and Georgia, it's a pretty safe bet that nothing will happen to me.

In fact, some readers might even read what I've written and then remark that "That guy Hicks sure isn't afraid. Did you see what he said about Byrnes and Talmadge?"

But if I called Byrnes and Talmadge SOBs (and I haven't done so — yet), any credit given to me as being a fearless reporter would be undeserved.

That is because I would be speaking of these two Bourbon gentlemen from the safe confines of a New York office and not from the firing line in Georgia or South Carolina.

What I'm trying to say is that it is one thing to call Byrnes a "SOB" in New York and quite another to call him one in Charleston, S.C.

The important thing is that, if and when you call him that, be careful to see whether he is surrounded by a group of hardy Harlemites on Seventh ave. in New York or a gang of Ku Kluxers down on the main drag in Charleston.

In summary, this column is willing to admit that no one who sits in New York can claim much credit for "defying" the white south. The real courage comes in defying the south — in the south.

This brings me to my main point. Did you ever think what the NAACP lawyers on Thurgood Marshall's staff have to face when they go into southern courts to try and show a color blind judge that there are some other colors in the world besides white?

Think it over. No case begins

in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Every Supreme Court case we've ever won had to first begin down there on the firing line. In fact the main reason that the case gets to the Supreme Court is because the NAACP lawyers realize they cannot talk any justice into some wool hat judge who rules against them.

Let's look at it this way. You're a lawyer in Georgia or Mississippi or some other place behind the color curtain.

'Good N---o Lawyer'

You're doing all right, you're respected and on Monday morning you appear in court before a wool hat, color blind judge and you help get the brethren out of jail who have been acting up on Saturday night.

The old judge throws most of these cases your way; you make a few dollars and, all in all, you have the reputation of being a good N---o lawyer. You're good because you are not challenging the "status quo."

Then, all of a sudden, some old brethren get the idea that they don't like to ride in the back of the bus any more in the jim-crow section. They tell the bus driver so, he calls a cop and the white cops kick their teeth in for daring to oppose the status quo.

Want To Fight 'em All

The brethren get mad — real mad. They come to you as a lawyer and say they want to fight. They want to fight the cops, the bus driver, the judge and the state attorney general and the governor. They want to fight all the people whom you must walk past daily in order to make your bread and butter.

They want to fight — but you've got to do the fighting for them. They will pay you — if and when they can get a little money together. In short, they come to you and say "We want you to bite off the hand that's feeding you — and when you do we'll TRY to help you get something to eat some how."

That's about the size and shape of things faced by civil

rights lawyers in the South. To even accept such a case may often mean economic and even violent ruin.

Yet, I think it's to their eternal credit that over and over again these unsung lawyers day after day go into court and take a good bite at the hand that feeds them, knowing full well that when they do it might be their last meal.

I've said before (and with apologies to a good and great man) I'll say "again and again," NAACP lawyers around the country deserve all the praise and support we can heap upon them.

They can't be in the business for money because they surely don't make a lot of money out of civil rights cases. They are in it with the same kind of drive and determination that makes the true scientist sit in his lab all night trying to figure out how to cut out a cancer in his patient.

Segregation is the cancer and NAACP lawyers are the surgeons with the knives.

\$32,700 Cancer Operation
They need \$32,700 to cut off the biggest cancer of them all in the rearguard of the segregation cases. Jim Byrnes and Hummon Talmadge (whom we have not YET cut off) are ready to sper

Voters' Vineyard

31 a Neg
By James Hicks

Makes charity plea for Lt. Gilbert

LAST TUESDAY at the invitation of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge I went to the Sert Room of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel to see motion pictures of United States aviators

who the Chinese Communists claimed confessed to participation in germ warfare before they were shot down in Korea.



Mr. Hicks

— was shocked by what I saw. There were two screens set up in the Sert Room. On one screen members of Senator Lodge's staff flashed movies of the American flyers complete with sound tracks showing them actually sitting in Red China "confessing" to the Chinese that they had participated in germ warfare.

The Chinese movie was a good one. Anyone looking at it would be convinced that the flyers had participated in the type of warfare they described.

They told the date of their missions, the area of their targets, described what type of bombs they used and gave other detailed information which would lead one to believe that they were telling nothing but the truth.

31 a Neg
All Details

This was the film prepared in Red China.

After we saw this film we then turned to the next screen and saw another one. This one was prepared by our own government as soon as the flyers were repatriated.

The flyers in the American film were the same men who had described their participation in the germ warfare for the Chinese which the Chinese used as a very effective propaganda weapon against us.

Fliers Retract Stories

But in the American film the flyers gave the lie to everything they had said in the Chinese film.

31 a Neg
They went up to tell in detail how they had been softened up by punishment and torture for months at a time before they finally agreed to make the film for the Reds.

Then when they could no longer stand it they agreed to go ahead with the Big Lie.

As soon as they did this the Chinese supplied them with names of top ranking US officers and told them to write their own script for the movies and warned them to lie about persons and dates and do anything else to make their confession sound bonafide.

After watching the film of the

Americans there was no doubt left in my mind that the Reds had faked the whole germ warfare deal and the film should be shown all over the U.S. for there are many people who still have doubts in their minds as to whether we did use germ warfare. This shows how effective the Red propaganda was.

Happy To Be Convinced

I was happy to be convinced that we had nothing to do with germ warfare, but the film left me cold in another respect.

As I sat there and watched those American flyers "confess" to the enemy that their nation had participated in something as low as germ warfare on one screen and then watched the same men on the other screen state that they had made such confessions because they felt the Chinese would kill them if they didn't, my mind wandered back to Korea.

I got to thinking about Lieutenant Gilbert and the many other colored soldiers whom the U.S. Army railroaded to prison because of "cowardice in the face of the enemy."

I looked at the admissions of the American flyers and heard them admit that they had momentarily turned against their country because of the desire to save their own necks. Nobody called it cowardice in their case. Everyone agreed to the contrary, that they simply had cracked up and yielded to pressure from the enemy.

Not Cowardice

I don't call what they did cowardice either. Under the circumstances I feel that many other Americans in their shoes would have done the same thing. There are still many Americans who would rather be called a living coward than a dead hero. Let's face it.

But if we face this — let's also face the case of Lt. Gilbert and the others. All the elements of the flyers' situation were present in the Gilbert case and in the case of other colored soldiers charged with cowardice in Korea.

Gilbert had been under steady artillery fire for some 13 hours, I believe. Anyone who has ever been shelled by artillery for one hour can know what pressure this is.

Admitted Being Dazed

He admitted to being dazed just as the flyers admitted after being tortured. He was then given an order which in his judgment meant suicide.

He refused to obey the order. The assumption is that just like the aviators who confessed, Gilbert didn't want to die. He took

LANGSTON HUGHES

Chicago Defender 7-4-53

Calls Whitman Negroes' First Great Poetic Friend, Lincoln Of Letters

Lat. 7-4-53

The greatest of American poets, Walt Whitman, wrote almost a hundred years ago in the dark days before the Civil War: "I say man shall not hold property in man; I say the least developed person on earth is just as important and sacred to himself or herself, as the most developed person is to himself or herself. I say where liberty draws not the blood out of slavery, there slavery draws the blood out of liberty. . . With one man or woman (no matter which one — I even pick out the lowest) with him or her I now illustrate the whole law; I say that every right, in politics or what-not, shall be eligible to that one man or woman, on the same terms as any."

Certainly there has been no clearer statement made on equality or civil or political rights than this statement in Walt Whitman's poem, "Says" from his so-called "Rejected Poems."

And in "By Blue Ontario's Shore" he wrote, "Slavery — the person how he feels. I myself murderous, treacherous conspiracies to raise it upon the ruins of all the rest, On and on, to grapple with it — Assassin! then your life or ours be the stake, and respite no more."

In "The Sleepers" he said, "The Asiatic and African are hand in hand, the European, and American are hand in hand. . . The call of the slave is one with the master's call, and the master salutes the slave."

And in one of his greatest poems, his magnificent "Song of Myself," Whitman told America, "Whoever degrades another degrades me, and whatever is done or said returns at last to me. His "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," which Harry T. Burleigh set and surging, through me the current and index. I speak the pass-word primeval. I give the sign concerning a Negro subject. It is also of democracy. By God! I will one of Whitman's few poems in accept nothing which all cannot which he employed rhyme, since have their counterpart of on the he was the great pioneer of "free

same terms. . . I know that the "verse" in America, taking his rhyme of God is the promise of thine from the rolling sonorities of my own. And I know that the of human speech and the majestic spirit of God is the brother of my poetry of the Bible. own. And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and in style, Whitman was a pioneer in the women my sisters and lovers, and that a kelson of the creative expression in poetry of the

But more than a mere pioneer in the expression in poetry of the basic precepts of American democracy as applying to everyone, including the millionaire, John Jacob Astor, and the slave. I remember the old folks talking about it. Untermeyer calls Whitman "the Lincoln of our literature." Certainly Walt Whitman is a poet Negroes should read and remember. His "Leaves of Grass" contains the greatest poetic statement next to me at table" — and guarding him with his flint-lock until the slave passed on to the North.

Again in that poem he identifies himself with a wounded slave, feels the buckshot and bullets, the bite of the dogs, hears the riders approaching, until he says, "Agonies are one of my changes of garments. I do not ask the wounded person how he feels. I myself become the wounded person."

And in "By the Roadside" he writes, "Not a grave of the murdered for freedom but grows seed for freedom, in its turn to bear seed which the winds carry afar and re-sow, and the rains and the snows nourish. . . Liberty, let others despair of you — I never despair of you."

Throughout Whitman's poems there are many references to Negroes, to Africa, to Asiatics, and to darker peoples in general, and always he includes them in the amplitude of his democracy and his humility.

His "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," which Harry T. Burleigh set to music, is one of the most beautiful poems in our language concerning a Negro subject. It is also of democracy. By God! I will one of Whitman's few poems in accept nothing which all cannot which he employed rhyme, since have their counterpart of on the he was the great pioneer of "free

LANGSTON HUGHES

When The Titanic Went Down Legend Says A Negro Was There

The water in the boiler room is up to my knees." Shine was in Sugar Ray's in Harlem drinking Seagrams Seven.

Captain said, "You better take your black self back down there! I got a hundred fifty pumps to keep the boiler room clear." Shine went back down in the hole and started shovelling coal Singing, "Lord, have mercy on my soul!"

Just then half the ocean jumped across the boiler room deck. Shine yelled to the captain, "The water is around my neck!" Captain said, "Go back! Neither fear nor doubt!"

I got a hundred more pumps to keep the water out." Shine said, "Your words sound happy and your words sound

true. Whether or not this was true, I do not know. Certainly, folk lore has it otherwise. For most of my adult life, I have been hearing every now and then among the joke tellers, some long rhymed version about the Negro who saved his life, not by jumping into a life-boat with the women and children, but by swimming ashore.

Not long ago, I heard a very amusing, but very vulgar version in New Orleans. A few weeks later I heard it in slightly different form in Harlem.

Like all folk things, this story of the man who swam half an ocean varies in the telling from place to place and person to person, as does John Henry or any other folk story.

If any readers of the "Defender" know any versions of "Shine, Shine, Save Poor Me," I would be grateful if you would send them to me.

In return, since the story of the Titanic has now been revived by Hollywood and folks are repeating these rhymes again, I give you this collection of verses about the Negro who lived to tell the tale:

It was 1912 when the news got around *Lat. 7-18-53* That the great Titanic was going down.

Shine came running up on deck and told the Captain, "Please,

Langston Hughes

Langston Hughes

An English Professor Disagrees On Whitman's Racial Attitudes

Lorenzo D. Turner, professor of English at Roosevelt College in Chicago, in an interesting and carefully documented letter, writes me as follows:

I have just read Langston Hughes' column in which he praises Walt Whitman. He says, "Throughout Whitman's poems are many references to Negroes, to Africa, to Asiatics, and to darker peoples in general, and always he includes them in the amplitude of his democracy and his humility. Certainly Walt Whitman is a poet Negroes should read and remember." *Sat. 7-25-53*

From a careful study of all Whitman's published works I am convinced that he was not a friend of the Negro, and had very few contacts with Negroes, and thought that they were inferior to other human beings. *p. 11*

In his pro-slavery novel entitled "Franklin Evans" of the Inebriate" (1842), Whitman has his hero praise the institution of slavery. On November 9, 1857, the people of Oregon adopted a constitution which barred Negroes from the state. In the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" for May 25, 1857, he says: "We like the refreshing openness of the southern character; you know where to find such men — you see what they are after, and prepare to meet them and answer them."

Earlier he had expressed his admiration for John C. Calhoun: "We like a bold, honest, morally heroic man! We therefore like John C. Calhoun. . . We believe that a higher-souled patriot never trod on American soil." ("Brooklyn Daily Eagle," May 14, 1846.)

Whitman was consistently bitter in his attacks on the abolitionists. In his poem called "Wounded in the House of Friends," he called the abolitionists "doughfaces, crawlers, lice of humanity." Note also the following lines from this poem:

"Vauners of the Free
Why do you strain your lungs
off southward?

Why be going to Alabama?
Sweep first before your own
door; . . .

Look well to your own eye, Massachussetts—

Yours, New York and Pennsylvania;

I would say yours, too, Michigan
Virginia, mother of greatness,

least shadow of a right to interfere. . . The man who accustoms himself to think. . . will see the wide and radical difference between the unquestionable folly and wicked wrong of abolitionist interference with slavery in the Southern states and the point of establishing slavery in the fresh land." (Brooklyn Daily Eagle," April 22, 1847.)

He felt that slavery in the South, if let alone, would become extinct within a hundred years: "in the meantime," he said, "it should be remembered that the institution of slavery is not at all without its redeeming points, and also there are just as great reforms needed in the northern states." ("Brooklyn Daily Times," May 14, 1857.)

Whitman had a deep affection for the South. See his poem entitled "O Magnet South." In the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" for May 25, 1857, he says: "We like the refreshing openness of the southern character; you know where to find such men — you see what they are after, and prepare to meet them and answer them."

On November 9, 1857, the people of Oregon adopted a constitution which barred Negroes from the state. In the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" for May 8, 1858, Whitman praised the new constitution of Oregon in which he saw virtue in its provisions barring Negroes from the state because they would not then be in a position to compete with white labor.

In an earlier editorial of the "Brooklyn Daily Eagle" (July 17, 1857), Whitman had said that Negroes were far better off as slaves on the American plantations than they would have been in their own country, and he saw nothing objectionable to the prevalent use of their labor in the South.

"It is also to be remembered," he said, "that no race ever can remain slaves if they have it in them to become free. Why do slave ships go to Africa only?"

Whitman was more interested in preventing the spread of slavery to the new territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War than in interfering with it in the Southern states:

"With the present slave states," he said, "no human being has the

least shadow of a right to interfere. . . The man who accustoms himself to think. . . will see the wide and radical difference between the unquestionable folly and wicked wrong of abolitionist interference with slavery in the Southern states and the point of establishing slavery in the fresh land." (Brooklyn Daily Eagle," April 22, 1847.)

During the Civil War, when many Union soldiers, including his brother George, were held as prisoners of war by the secessionists, Whitman revealed his indifference to the fate of Negro Union prisoners.

He sharply criticized the Secretary of War for insisting that no discrimination against Negro soldiers be shown in the exchange of Fisk University, Charles S. As the tasks of the NAACP of prisoners. (See Charles L. Johnson, was its editor. "Oppor-

grew, its membership increased Glicksberg, "Walt Whitman and tunity" was for more than a dec-

ade one of America's most inter-

esting magazines. In its pages

"Leaves of Grass" was Whit-

man's show-piece, and, unfortun-

ately, is the only one of his works

that the average readers see. But the public.

to get a true picture of Whitman

one has to read his writings that

are not included in "Leaves of

Grass."

Columnist Declares That What The Country Needs Is A Good Monthly Negro Magazine

Elmer Anderson Carter, recent-born, the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Negroes, used to be editor of "Opportunity," the Journal of Negro Life which the Negroes, and belles lettres. Under the National Urban League published the editorship of Dr. Du Bois, with previously, the late great lyric poet, Countee Cullen, had been editor, my first poems were printed acting editor *Leopoldo* there, as was the work of young

And before that, the now famous writers of the early "Negro Renaissance" period.

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in words that only their own writers can write. There are many fine Negro artists in America to illustrate such new and talented poets and fiction writers. We have no publication that is serving a most useful function in America today like "Opportunity." We very badly need a highcalibre literary monthly magazine. Philip Randolph ran a fiery publication called "The Messenger," talented writers now than there were in the '20's. We have more was for a while its managing editor, scholars capable of producing protor. "The Messenger" welcomed vocative articles, penetrating es-poetry and fiction, too. With "The says, good criticism. There is no Crisis," "Opportunity" and "The color line, so far as I am aware, Messenger" all reaching the news in any of the better national publications. Negro writers had a much better chance than they do today, zines can use only a limited number to find publication, to reach a Negro public, and to feel free to write racial themes. about and develop Negro material. But the "Messenger" and Negro life which our writers might "Opportunity" are out of existence care to utilize cannot be absorbed. "The Crisis" is a house organ by white magazines. We very badly need our own publications us-highly readable early offspring of high standard work from the the Johnson Publications has given best of our writers, journalists, en way to the more lively but less and scholars, seeking at the same cultivated "Jet," and the ever-time to discover new writers. growing "Ebony." The nearest thing we have to The Negro picture and news such a magazine is "Phylon," At-magazines reach a wide public, lanta University's excellent quar-are entertaining, often exciting terly. But "Phylon" is primarily sometimes both sensational and an academic publication, not aim-sexational. Some of them are hard-ed at the general public. Being recommended eyefuls for chil- printed only four times a year, dren or adolescents. But they its space is necessarily limited. It keep the world from the cradle to does not have much room for poe-the grave informed on many as-try, and almost none at all for pects of Negro life. They are, however, in no wise literary. The work of Arna Bontemps, Gwendolyn Brooks, Ralph Ellison, Arthur Cullen, and others, whose books have been brought to their jobs come back home to a racial public in the old days. But they have alone cannot hit all. Negro America very badly whose dreams still need expressing. Negro monthly magazine printing in words meant first of all for zine. needs a

LANGSTON HUGHES

31a Negro Harlem's Bookshops Have A Wealth Of Material By And About Negroes

Of the bookshops in Harlem, the three busiest are within a stone's throw of each other near the corner of West 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. The smallest — although it is the one you are most likely to notice first if you are a visitor to New York since it is located in the popular Theresa Hotel — is the March Community Bookshop, spick and span, newly renovated and attractive, with a colorful and neatly arranged window display. The largest of Harlem's bookshops is the National Memorial Book Store at 2107 Seventh Avenue which has probably the biggest stock of published materials by and about Negroes in America. The third shop, where you are most likely to find old, rare, and out of print volumes concerning Negro life, is the Frederick Douglass Book Center specializing in Afro-American history, first editions, and collectors items.

Anyone interested in the printed facts, fiction, or poetry of Negro life should know these bookshops where a wealth of material is at hand for your perusal, where you are welcome to browse, and to purchase if you wish. From this week's latest colored magazine to some of the oldest Negro books published in America, from twenty-five cent pocket editions to rare and expensive volumes, from Phyllis Wheatley to Gwendolyn Brooks, Charles W. Chestnut to Ralph Ellison, from yesterday's forgotten pioneers to today's best seller, the variety of literary wares range in these three shops. For a lover of books a fascinating afternoon may be spent inspecting their stocks. A race-minded reader is sorely tempted to emp-

Equally inviting to me is the smaller Frederick Douglass Book Center just around the corner at 141 West 12th Street. Here its owner, Richard B. Moore, can intrigue a visitor for hours with the many old and unusual volumes of Negro writing that adorn his shelves, or that he will look up for you in his store room, since the shop itself cannot any longer house all his treasure suppose you are looking for "The Colored Cadet at West Point", an autobiography published in 1878 by its first Negro graduate, Lt.

Ossian Flipper, or you desire to load of books — if he can make up his mind which ones to buy. Still's "The Underground Railroad", or the "Lives of Maba all Negro books, so one is almost Seyon and Gabra Krestos", one

certain to come across some vol- of the sacred books of the Ethi- ume in these shops he does not pian church with over 10 color plates by ancient Ethiopian art-

At the National Memorial Bookists, you will find these books at Shop particularly, the very sight the Douglas Book Center. Many scholars and teachers write Mr. Moore for books which they can- most breathtaking. Here there not come across in their com- are absorbing books of text and munities and which other book- pictures on display such as "Isles of Rhythm" by Earl Leaf, "12 for them. This shop also carries Hotel — is the March Community Million Black Voices" by Richard a complete list of current books Bookshop, spick and span, newly Wright, or "North Star Shining" on the Negro, but it holds a spe- renovated and attractive, with a by Swift and Ward. There are cial interest for the colle- ction of Negro novels, books on jazz, poetry, history, J. H. Rogers, scholar, or persons wishing to lem's bookshops is the National ers' "Sex and Race," the lives build a solid Negro library.

Memorial Book Store at 2107 Se- of Mrs. Bethune, Ralph Bunche, Jackie Robinson, Joe Louis, and at 125th and Seventh and see Su- Lena Horne, Arna Bontemps' gar Ray's Bar, the Shalimar, or charming books for children, and the Palm Tavern where Ralph the newest hair-raiser on prison Cooper has his broadcast. You life by Chester Himes. There may look down the street and are maps, charts, pictures of the see the Apolo where the top bands great figures in Negro history, play, our best singers sing, and pamphlets, cards, magazines, Pigmeat frequently holds forth. In scrolls, shelves and counters full another direction you may see of such a variety of racial ma- Sidney Poitier's Ribs-in-the-Ruff terials as you are not likely to or Mrs. Frazier's where Ethel discover altogether at the same Waters may be dining. You can time anywhere else. I find the look up and see the Theresa's National Memorial Book Store roof-high ballroom where fine par- one of the most fascinating book ties are held almost very night. shops I have ever seen.

Then you take a few steps and you may go a thousand years back into the Ethiopian past — simply by walking into one of the three bookshops in the vicinity where words await you that bring alive the mighty pageant of our yesterdays, or illuminate our intricate and palpitating present. The next time you visit Harlem, don't forget our bookshops. They are worth seeing.

When members of the minority received a Metropolitan Museum group's become conservative or Prize and has just had a stunning reactionary, they tend to be more exhibit of oils and drawings at the New York ACA Gallery. Marion Perkins, Charles Seebree, Hale Woodruff, Zell Ingram, Charles

Austir, Aaron Douglas, Romeo Beard, Palmer Hayden and other fine painters and sculptors are continually creative.

There is no conservative more conservative than a conservative Jew. There is no other Negro on God's earth like George S. Schuyler. I would like to recommend him for a post on the new Un-American Committee because he is at least 200 percent American and is satisfied with no less a percentage in others.

Being Negro America's most highly readable and provocative journalist, he could be of invaluable official assistance in running black reds, white reds and red reds caged.

When God made Sra Lou Harris beautiful He also gave her one of the loveliest female speaking voices on the American continent. Her clean, clear enunciation and soft, pleasant tones are perfect for radio — a medium that seems to bring out the worst in most women commentators' voices.

Five mornings a week now on New York's WLIB Sra Lou Harris and her husband, Buddy Bowser, have a breakfast program that is a delight for late sleepers to wake up to. They are, I believe, the only colored man and wife team on the air at the moment.

Negro painters and sculptors have not gained as much attention from the American public as have Negro singers, actors, jazz musicians and writers. But I believe their day is coming. The sculpture of Richmond Barthe is currently appreciated in the far off capitals of Europe and Asia, and he has designed the new coins for Haiti. Jacob Lawrence is piling up more and more press notices such as "Time" magazine's comment that he is "perhaps the world's foremost Negro painter."

Charles White has lately re-

LANGSTON HUGHES

31a Negro Passing Thoughts On George Schuyler And Other Striking Personalities

When members of the minority received a Metropolitan Museum group's become conservative or Prize and has just had a stunning reactionary, they tend to be more exhibit of oils and drawings at the New York ACA Gallery. Marion Perkins, Charles Seebree, Hale Woodruff, Zell Ingram, Charles

Austir, Aaron Douglas, Romeo Beard, Palmer Hayden and other fine painters and sculptors are continually creative.

With the spotlight on African and Haitian primitives, maybe it will begin to be increasingly focussed on their civilized American brothers who are making distinguished contributions to the contemporary arts.

That most energetic and talented lady of the Broadway theatre, Juanita Hall, whose characterization of Bloody Mary in "South Pacific" has become a classic, recently organized for The Light-house for the Blind two stunning afternoons of Negro entertainment to raise funds for this charitable cause. Miss Hall combined Negro song, Negro poetry, Negro dancing and Negro music into a single unified tapestry of great enchantment.

Assisted by Earle Hyman reading the poems, Walter Nichols, Audray Mason and Ella Thompson dancing them and Billy Kyle at the piano with an excellent group of musicians, Juanita Hall herself acted as narrator and singer to bring to life some hitherto unexplored nuances of Negro creative genius through a linking of various arts and interpretive talents.

Her program, which might be called "Moods of Negro Art," if held together as a unit and sent on tour, should appeal to audiences throughout America — and the world.

When Ralph Ellison began work on his big novel, "Invisible Man," eight years ago, he had a full head of hair. Now he is almost bald. They say it takes deep thought to produce deep work.

Critics and public alike agree that seller at the very beginning of a career, it takes a great deal of ability to keep on flying. Certainly Ralph Ellison's many readers hope that he will come up with a second best-seller.

A rising star of song hit the TV screen as a guest on the Tally-ho Bankhead show in the chocolate and charming person of Dolores Martin, who brings a

When the new production of "Porgy and Bess" reaches Broad-

A rising star of song hit the TV screen as a guest on the Tally-ho Bankhead show in the chocolate and charming person of Dolores Martin, who brings a

Critics and public alike agree that his novel which recently won the coveted National Book Award, is deep, beautifully written, provocative. Its fine talent to another work of fiction — which will have to be very good indeed to continue such a claim as "Invisible Man" has brought him. When an author gets off to a flying start with a best

way, with Leontyne Price and Cab Calloway in major roles, after a tremendous success in Europe, let's hope it opens up that street of theaters again to a vogue for Negro shows such as there has not been since the late 1920's and early '30's.

There are so many talented colored actors and singers now that a dozen fine shows could be cast without difficulty. The night clubs cannot absorb all of our talent. Hollywood's opportunities for Negroes are woefully limited.

But Broadway is crying for good shows. Negro America has the talent to help supply them. A real hit with a colored cast may begin to open doors once more. Let's hope so.

Reverend Evelyn Cunningham

Some Wonderful Women I Would Like To Know Better Include—

EVELYN CUNNINGHAM who for my money, is one of the wittiest lady columnists now putting pen to paper, or fingers to typewriter keys. If she is as entertaining in person as she is on paper, that takes ~~goes~~

press releases, and plan my interviews.

MABEL FAIRBANKS to go ice skating with me at the Radio City Rink.

DOROTHY DANDRIDGE just because she is so confounded pretty.

ALTHEA GIBSON so she could teach me to play tennis the way she does. *3-14-53*

ROSE MORGAN if she could show me how to make money like Rose Meta.

MAHALIA JACKSON because she moves my soul.

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE so friend in need is a friend indeed—I could absorb some of her good common sense.

EDITH WILSON to sing my commercials, make my flapjacks, and keep me smiling.

PHILIPPA SCHUYLER for youth, beauty, dinner music, and a good game of chess.

HAZEL SCOTT for midnight boogie woogie with a Beethoven prelude. Also to flash that smile at me.

BABY DEE to tickle me, since she is about the most amusing young singing comedienne I have witnessed of late.

MOUNE de RIVEL so she could teach me how to really speak French without an accent.

BEULAH WHITBY for beauty and brains combined behind the richest brown skin facade God ever made.

LENA HORNE to sing me to sleep, then I would know that life is a dream.

UNA MAE CARLISLE to sing me awake—and back into the swing of things.

MARGARET GOSS BURROUGHS to paint me some pictures.

MARY ELIZABETH VROMAN to help me with my writing.

PAULI MURRAY for poetry and the law combined.

JANET COLLINS to be my dancing partner.

MOLLIE MOON to introduce me to society.

KATHERINE DUNHAM to shake my maracas.

VINNETTE CARROLL to read to me aloud.

DELORES MARTIN so I could ride her around this spring in a new foreign built sports car . . . if I had a foreign built sports car.

P. 11

MARY CHURCH TERRELL to show me how the fires of youth vim, vigor, vitality, and civic interest can keep right on burning while the clock of time keeps turning.

DOROTHY MAE STEVENS so I could find out how it feels to be frozen stiff and then come back to life again.

EARTHA KITT who looks like a cat, purrs when sings, slinks when she walks, and I'm wondering what she does when she talks.

SARA LOU HARRIS providing she would converse as sweet and melody-like with me every morning as she does with Buddy Bowser on their ~~and~~ and-wife breakfast show.

PERRI COUSINS to help me select my books so that reading would be out of this world.

JEAN IDELLE so there would always be a fan handy for fanning.

OLIVETTE MILLER just to play my harp because the music she makes is heavenly.

FREDA DE KNIGHT to set my table, broil my steak, and bake my cake.

MAXINE DALY for a teacher so I could learn my A-B-C's all over again.

CONSTANCE CURTIS to handle my public relations, write my

ALL THE BRADFORD MOD-ELS.

MARILYN MONROE.

31a

Langston Hughes

Negro Amateur Theatres Have Developed Talent

The one consistently sympathetic outlet to new Negro playwrights during the past twenty years has been the Gilpin Players of Karamu House in Cleveland. This settlement house acting group is the nearest thing we have in America to a Negro dramatic theatre portraying racial life thru drama and, whenever good scripts can be found, through drama written by Negro playwrights. Other promising Negro little theatre groups have sprung up only to die after two or three seasons. Such as the Harlem Suitcase Theatre whose presentation of *Don't You Want To Be Free?* for 135 performances marks its only major achievement. The Negro Playwrights Company, attempting to operate in Harlem on a professional basis, closed after a short run in *Big White Fog*. In Chicago the Skyloft Players at Parkway Community House and the Negro Art Theatre managed to survive several seasons.

The most active (but non-professional) producing group with a large membership was the American Negro Theatre in Harlem. The Broadway hit, *Anna Lucasta*, originated with this group, as did an excellent series of radio programs. But this group, while providing good training for actors, did little to stimulate the growth of a real Negro theatre or search out Negro playwrights of talent. The majority of its scripts were by non-Negro writers. And many were rehashes of old Broadway potboilers with themes far removed from the realities of Negro life. From these experimental groups, however, have come to

clubs, and more recently to radio, Trio, also such folk singers as the stage or screen where late great Bessie Smith, Leadbelly, Sister Sharpe and Josie, white entertainers having opportunities for them are not so. White clubs featuring Negro talents, Radio, and the night clubs even more than the clubs pick up their mannerisms and copy their dance steps to use later on stage and screen. As sincere or as skilled as the craft of white playwrights may be, the little graduations of racial life that give a Negro drama its authenticity and individual glow, cannot be known to them. Too often, too, inspite of himself, the white playwright unconsciously falls into stereotypes. But because it is seeking after truth, the dramatic theatre, more often than the musical, has managed to avoid the stereotype. The serious dramatic writer usually does not pander to popular prejudices or chauvinism.

Perhaps comedy is the pitfall of the musical theatre. In drama, problems tend to become universal, even though in racial guise. On the other hand, comedy is often provincial. Exaggerations of racial types, overstressing the eccentricities of regional speech and stereotyped conventions frequently dominate comedy — especially that of the music hall. Nevertheless, just as out of the serious theatre has come a Rose McClelland, a Robeson, or a Canada Lee, so from the minstrel-vaudeville musical stage have come some very talented Negro comedians, despite the narrow vein of humor in which they were forced to work; ready to work; Ernest Hogan, the great Bert Williams, Miller and Lyles, Dusty Fletcher of "Open the door, Rich," fame, Pig Meat Markham, Fletcher of "Open the door, Rich," fame, Jackie Mabley, and Eddie Green. Since the end of World War I, colored comedians have devoted to the night, Cab Calloway, Billie Holiday, Pearl Bailey and the King Cole.

Negro (Langston Hughes)

LANGSTON HUGHES

Writer Laments Non-Existence Of Permanent Negro Theatre In America

Since the return of "Porgy and Bess" to Broadway has been accompanied by the moans, cries, and groans of Negro critics who object to the old hip-shaking, crap-shooting, loud-mouthed, grinning stereotypes of the past, it might be well to contemplate for a few weeks in this column the status of the Negro in American entertainment, and the fact that Negro performers themselves have no serious musical or dramatic theatre in America. *4-11-53*

The Negro minority of fifteen million people possesses no professional acting group in the United States such as the Abbey Theatre or the Gate in Ireland, the Habimah in Israel, or the Old Vic in England. In truth, the American Negro has no professional theatre of his own at all.

Nevertheless, we are very much a part of the American entertainment world, although still in a limited and inhibited fashion. Our actors act, our singers sing, our dancers dance — but in the field of commercial entertainment we almost always amuse under censorship, minstrel-minded outside control, or other limitations which prevent a full realization of our potential talents.

There is a great deal of money to be made from commercial entertainment in the U.S.A. But American life is still heavily afflicted with anti-Negro prejudices so, in order not to offend these prejudices, those who control entertainment for profit mould its forms insofar as colored actors and entertainers go.

White Americans control commercial entertainment for white Americans. There will be no complete revelation of Negro talent in entertainment in America until some areas of it are controlled completely by Negroes providing entertainment for their own racial group first, and only incidentally for others who say wish to enjoy

Even theaters such as the Apollo in Harlem catered to a Negro audience, are controlled entirely by white management. That is no doubt why, unlike the social comedy of European or Latin countries, in the humor of the low comedians of theaters such as the Apollo there almost never creeps the slightest jibe at the status quo of Jim Crow under which the audience and the comedians themselves live.

Negro comedians have a wealth of unused satirical material of an hilarious nature inherent in our pseudo-democratic race relations in America. But you would never know it at the Apollo, the Regal, or the Howard where black comedians limit themselves entirely to making fun of Negroes. They are afraid of not getting a return engagement at white-owned theaters if they make fun of white people. So they kid themselves about a ghost in a graveyard instead of kidding the Ku Klux Klan whose hoods and sheets are as absurd as the garb of a ghost. They are afraid of managers and booking agents, afraid they will get but few engagements in the North and none at all in the South.

The shadow of the South hangs heavily over the Negro in entertainment in the U.S.A. It is worse over Hollywood. It also rides the radio waves.

This shadow is perhaps least heavy over Broadway. But even on Broadway the producers of plays like *Deep Are The Roots* will think ruefully how the road tour, if there is one, must be limited mostly to cities above the Mason-Dixon line. For a serious Negro-white problem play, even Washington and Baltimore, only a few hours from New York, might have to be eliminated. And there will hardly be a movie sale. So it is more profitable to produce a raceless, rootless comedy like *Anna Lucasta* purely for entertainment's sake, than to

produce *On Whitman Avenue* or *On Trial By Fire* about restrictive covenants and housing.

The all-Negro musical fantasy, *Cabin In The Sky*, could tour the South and even be sold to the movies. But for Duke Ellington's interracially cast *Beggar's Holiday*, there were no such chances. The South would not like *Beggar's* maybe drop time in his cap.

Show business is first and foremost a business. Often the art therein gets no further than the artist's heart. Still the American theatre has had some fine art groups — the Provincetown Players, for instance.

The early Theatre Guild and the Group Theatre once greatly influenced the commercial Broadway theatre for the better. But Negro Americans as yet have not such serious art groups attaining professional stature. In time we will have. But I wish the time would come soon.

The Negro as a folk entertainer has always been accepted in America, but as a trained professional artist he has had a long hard way to go. It is one thing to listen to a black troubador picking a guitar on a street corner and

But when you pay ~~25~~ ~~53~~ to see

a picture, your prejudices as well as your risibilities must be tickled. The Negro began long ago tickling America's risibilities. If slavery he could hardly tickle anything else. It was fun listening to unorganized unprofessional Negro

singing, hearing the absurd broken dialect spoken, watching the clop and buck and wing of slave dancers. It was so much fun that before the Civil War professional white entertainers borrowed these things from Negro and made the famous and infamous blackface Andys made much more.

Fortunately there has been another and more truthful line from the folk art of the Negro past to the commercial entertainment of today. It, too, has had Andy still wear it on their tongues. In the movies there are some Negroes who do not have to wear burnt cork almost comes shadows. The vitality of Negro natural. Uncle Tom did not really folk music from the slave songs die. He simply went to Hollywood, to Broadway, and the inventiveness of the Negro dance from the

Not all the slave songs were plantation to Katherine Dunham, morous. But it was the humorous have been too great to be comedies that sold best, the minstrel completely lost even when exploited men discovered. Not all the slave dancers were hilarious buck-and-wingers. But in the early 1800's influenced all America popular who could sell the ache of the music and dancing. And that in-spirituals, or the frenzy and terror fluence has been, on the whole, of Congo Square and its drums? joyous and sound.

Not all the things said in dialect

long ago in America the stereotype of the Negro as a humorous clown was born. That shadow of the South is still over the Negro in professional entertainment. A superb dancer like the late Bill Robinson told jokes shaming his people because he danced in that shadow.

Negro entertainers themselves in the '80's began to imitate the white minstrels — they began to imitate the imitators of themselves. They, too, sang "coon" songs that the Negro people did not like, but which the whites paid money to hear. From the first colored 'coon' of minstrel days to Stephen Fetchit on the screen there is a direct line. Therein lies the tragedy of the Negro in American entertainment. For money he became a stereotype OF HIS OWN WHITE

STEREOTYPE — and for so LITTLE money. The white Al Jolson and the white Amoses and famous and infamous blackface Andys made much more.

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Not all the things said in dialect

were laughable. But the heart-breaking phrases had to wait until BESS has been enriched by Negro today for a dramatist like Theodore Ward to remember. They were not for the minstrels. Thus

to Harold Arlen have utilized Negro folk sources for their inspiration. Given new vitality just before the First World War by the folk blues and the personal creations of W. C. Handy, the Negro syncopation began to affect symphonic composers. American music is soaked in our rhythms.

Ragtime began as a folk art, created a stir with the first orchestra concert of syncopated music at Carnegie Hall in 1912. Now was James Bland of CARRY ME became the popular music of America. James Reese Europe had on America. James Reese Europe utilized Negro music no matter what color. Given new vitality just before the First World War by the folk blues and the personal creations of W. C. Handy, the Negro syncopation began to affect symphonic composers. American music is soaked in our rhythms.

LANGSTON HUGHES

31a The Influence Of Negro Music On American Entertainment

to Harold Arlen have utilized Negro folk sources for their inspiration. Given new vitality just before the First World War by the folk blues and the personal creations of W. C. Handy, the Negro syncopation began to affect symphonic composers. American music is soaked in our rhythms.

Ragtime began as a folk art, created a stir with the first orchestra concert of syncopated music at Carnegie Hall in 1912. Now was James Bland of CARRY ME became the popular music of America. James Reese Europe had on America. James Reese Europe utilized Negro music no matter what color. Given new vitality just before the First World War by the folk blues and the personal creations of W. C. Handy, the Negro syncopation began to affect symphonic composers. American music is soaked in our rhythms.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Federal Theatre Led The Way To Plenty Of Integration On Broadway

In the theatre there have been many excellent Negro composers and lyricists. At the turn of the century ~~Leopold~~ and Johnson wrote a series of beautiful operettas sung and danced by colored artists of national fame. Williams and Walker toured the country in *In Abyssinia* and *Bandanna Land*. Will Marion Cook, Will Vodery, and Alex Rogers created songs that swept the U. S. up to the time of World War I. Then there came a lull in the activities of the Negro musical stage, until Sissle and Blake wrote *Shuffle Along* that was to begin the "New Negro" vogue in theatre literature, and art of the 1920's. *Shuffle Along* was the show that shot Florence Mills to international stardom, and first attracted attention to an agile chorus girl, one Josephine Baker.

Top authorities in the Federal Theatre, Hallie Flannigan and Elmer Rice, believed in no color line. For the first time in America, in a sustained manner, Negroes were able to create their own plays and musicals, act in them, and also gain experience in directing, scene designing, and

the other technical aspects of the theatre which had hitherto been closed to them. With few previous exceptions, it was the Federal Theatre that dared to cast Negro actors in non-Negro roles, not only on Broadway, but in its units elsewhere as well. The Federal Theatre broke down not only the old taboos against colored Americans as backstage technicians, but the bars against colored actors playing other than racial roles.

Ten years later the results were seen in the mixed dancing chorus of *On The Town*, the colored and white ensembles of *Finian's Rainbow* and *My Darlin' Aida*, and the complete integration of singers, dancers, and actors in the interracially written and interracially produced *Beggar's Holiday*, the Duke Ellington-John La-Touche novelty co-produced by Negro Perry Watkins and white John R. Sheppard, jr. In the drama, an interracial producing team, Canada Lee and Mark Maron, presented *On Whitman Avenue* with a mixed cast. In Gian-Carlo Menotti's *The Medium*, the

For both the musical and dramatic actor of color, the Federal gypsy boy was played by a

Theatre of the depression period was more than a gift from Roosevelt. It seemed like a gift from God. Not only did it bring forth food in a lean period, but it brought forth such real contributions to the art of the stage as Chicago's *Swing Mikado*, the Los Angeles record-breaker directed by Clarence Muse, *Run Little Chillun*, and Harlem's Haitian *Macbeth*, beautifully played, in which the young Orson Welles had a directional hand. Chicago, through an excellent production of *Big White Fox*, brought to light a new, Negro playwright of genuine talent, Theodore Ward.

A major difference between the treatment accorded Negro entertainers at home and abroad is that, whereas American audiences will loudly applaud performers whom they like inside the theatre, outside the theatre the Negro artist cannot ~~depend on~~ *depend on* coffee or find a place to sleep.

In Europe they receive social as well as artistic acceptance. Puzzled white Americans, at a loss to understand the behavior of Paul Robeson and Josephine Baker, probably have not stopped to think that in London Mr. Robeson was a social as well as a theatrical success, regularly received into the homes of the best families. In Paris Josephine Baker was not only a stage star, but was continually entertained by statesmen and royalty as well.

In America on their return to the homeland, both were artistically successful, but socially snubbed except by a handful of artists and liberals. Perhaps these snubs hurt them to ~~their~~ *their* very souls. Maybe applause across the footlights could not make up for Jim Crow in the streets, for Negro artists abroad are received not only with audience acclaim and newspaper praise, but with personal and community courtesy as well.

Jan. 5 23 '43
Louis Armstrong, Duke Elling-

Katherine Dunham dancer, Leo

Coleman, who made love to a white girl. In the *Arena* revival *The Medium* herself was played by a Negro singer, Zelma Watson George. Integration continues in *Amahl and the Night Visitors* and has even reached the Metropolitan Opera in the person of Janet Collins.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Major Differences Between Europe And America For Negro Theatrical Performers

ton, Cab Calloway, and other colored band leaders have enjoyed both the social and artistic hospitality of European countries.

Teddy Weatherford was for many years until his death the favorite orchestra leader of Asia from China to India. In night club circles *Bricktop* was a success in Montmartre for a decade. Elizabeth Welch, Nora Holt, Jimmy Daniels, Adelaide Hall, Eartha Kitt, Inez Cavanaugh and many other colored entertainers have been both social and singing hits outside the U. S. A. As concert artists, of course, Marian Anderson, Roland Hayes, Dorothy Maynor, Anne Brown, and Kenneth Spencer have been widely acclaimed. Ella Belle Davis, Aubrey Pankey, and Edward Matthews have been favorites in Latin countries, while Katherine Dunham and her dancers captivated three continents.

Abroad, colored performers live normally as human beings without discrimination, but at home Negro artists on tour face impossible conditions. Audiences applaud them — but often nobody in town will give them a place to sleep or even a place to eat. American hotels and restaurants in the Midwest and South will refuse service to a Duke Ellington, an Ethel Waters, a Marian Anderson, or a Lena Horne as quickly as they will to any other

Negro. Touring orchestras have to live in busses or Pullman cars much of the time and often subsist on sandwiches out of a bag.

In plays, mixed casts are still taboo in the South. Constitution Hall in Washington still refuses its stage to Negro concert artists. Some Southern radio stations still require Negro entertainers to use the back door or the freight elevator. In communities where racial prejudices are in full sway the ordinary courtesy and politeness granted visiting white performers are denied to Negro performers. Many American newspapers in the South will not carry photographs of colored entertainers. (These papers, too, refused to publish pictures of American Negro war heroes.) Against the entertainer of color in these United States the same Jim Crowisms that make life difficult for all Negroes operate. Since entertainers and actors must travel more than most people, these unjustifiable restrictions become doubly difficult for them, often meaning that in a strange town they must search for hours for a place to eat, sleep, or even to go to a lavatory.

Where does the Negro stand today in entertainment? He stands on one leg, with the other tied behind him by Jim Crow. If he were standing flat on two feet with his head up, competing "in the American way" with other artists

and entertainers for a chance to work and develop, there would be dozens of Negro artists on long-term contracts in Hollywood. In radio and TV there would be soap and regular programs starring famous Negro artists and bands.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution has called voting the most vital of the civil rights.

Yet Alabama and Mississippi hang at the foot of the ladder among the 48 states in regard to political suffrage among Negro citizens. At the rate of progress, Mississippi should pull ahead of Alabama in 1954. Only one more month-January-is left to add new voters, from a practical stand point. Those who still must pay the poll tax and have not registered have only until Feb. 1 to do both.



For most part there is no organized voter-registration campaign underway anywhere in Alabama among the group. Little book keeping on voter-registration efforts is kept. Speech making and letter writing are the order of the day, except in isolated instances.

Almost every one has an idea of what should be done but seems to desert the effort needed to put it over.

Then there is the fear-to-try psychology which has been unwittingly built up in the minds of the masses by some of our leaders. A bogey has been made of the registration application and conceivably this fear has been seized upon to withhold the ballot from the timid and fearful.

Stories wash to my attention of some Negro Birmingham school teachers allegedly being rejected. Leaders of a local teacher organization reportedly held a conference with the registration officials who promise to treat all applicants alike. But one could imagine the ground shaking that would come should a white school teacher be turned down. Every white teacher and organization in which he pays his dues would rise up in protest, legal and civic action against it.

It seems to me the teacher group should make a study of voter denials among their group, air the rejection and challenge them. A voter-registration law which is administered so harshly that not even

31a
school teacher can qualify under it is unfair and unjust, it seems to me. The suffrage law and its administration should be of such that good Americans, loyal and honest citizens can be easily placed on the voters' list.

One of the toughest jobs we have is getting complete data on voter registration in Alabama. The Alabama State Teachers Association through its vote commission and affiliates has been trying to record such information and also stimulate voting among the teachers. Nevertheless in a number of counties there are no Negro voters and no Negro in a half century has tried to register to vote in these same counties.

This should serve as a challenge to our big oak religious leaders like Dr D V Jemison, Sr, of Selma president of the Alabama Baptist State Convention; Bishop I H Bonner of the Ninth Episcopal District of the A. M. E. Church; Bishop Betram Wilbur Doyle of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and Bishop James Clair Taylor of the A. M. E. Zion Church. Three church leaders are in a good position to change things and put some fire under the campaign for a bigger and better electorate.

To me has come this report Blount County has only 4 instead of 12 Negro voters as once reported. Civic leaders claim they do not know the registration days (which can be secured at the office of the Board of Registrars). When Negro applicants finally caught up with registration days, the officials claimed they had no application blanks.

Civic leaders with industry, intelligence, courage and the will to vote could overcome such obstacles. The spotlight of blistering publicity should be turned loose against unfair voter-registration practice, it seems to me. Evil practices cannot stand up in a democracy against righteous exposure.

SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Counties	Voters	Voting Age	Pop.
Blount	4	425	824
Cullman	None	246	494
Fayette	150	1497	2865
Lamar	7	1199	2437
Marion	35	378	725
Pickens	Unreported	5,544	11,659
Walker	650	3840	6847
Winston	Unreported	63	102
TOTALS		846	13,827
			27,269

THE TIP - OFF

31a news
BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MOBILE, Ala.—(SNS)—The work of scholars is beginning to stick out in the grueling battle of ideas, the those devote to a search for truth word bombs in the fight for first-class citizenship.

Miss Barbara Gardner, not yet established as a scholar but a Talladega College, in a panel discussion on integrated education set found "an amazing revolution" going on in Dixie. He feels that NAACP Branches on fire with an illuminating analysis of the problem from many intriguing looks Prof. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute spotted the ugly facts of racial differentials in Alabama public grade schools.

President Arthur D. Gray of Talladega College injected the angle of the burden of cost, which would be too heavy for the state and the nation to bear in a system of actual dual equality.

"The South is going to accept the United States Supreme Court decisions (in the pending five school segregation cases), Dr. Gray said. He discussed the dire prediction and support his ideas with observation. He related conversations he had held with various Southern leaders who if they think there would be violence, difficulty, strife and conflict, always localize it in another community. "We won't have much trouble here but in X-city there might be some," he represented his conversations as saying.

"Some will complain and whine about a non-segregation division but they will accept it," in the Negro-operated school he predicted that some would die, other emerge and good ones survive. He dictated cooperation among the various groups sponsoring the Negro-directed colleges. To say that a Negro-operated college will die with the end of segregation would be an unfortunate attitude and would suggest that they were not essential, which is not true.

Dr. Gray feels that many of the Negro-led and Negro-operated schools will live because they are dedicated to the principles of democracy.

salary differential based upon race. The NAACP assisted in such campaigns.

In the operation cost the differentials is \$2.11 to \$1 and in the auxiliary services it is \$2.11 to \$1. The school term is the same. The Negro scholar is emerging as the new leader in the fight against discrimination. He is selling the idea of equality and backing up his sales talk with ideas and facts. Scholars in action can put democracy into action, it seems to me.

TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Church leaders are emerging as vital factors in the voter-registration movement in Alabama.

This was noted Wednesday night at a meeting of the Bessemer Voters League presided over by Asbury Howard, a labor and civic leader of considerable fellowship strength. This is the oldest political action group in Jefferson County, being organized over 25 years ago.

Annually the league sponsors a Lincoln-Douglas Day dinner and during ~~1953~~ the year ~~1953~~ the-vote schools at which seek-to-be-voters learn the requirements for voter-registration, and mechanics of voting, and practical political action.

The Rev. Leon Davis, a youthful and energetic minister, is vice-president of the organization. The

league is cord

Since then a new venire list has

posed of an as-been set up which reportedly has

sortment of vot

80 names on it of which seven are

ers coming from Negro citizens. But there was no

many walks of Negro name listed among the 18-

man Grand Jury which was or-

ganized. This inquisitorial body is

the community

life. It is meet

ing again Wed-

nesday night

Dec. 9.

M. r. Howard told the gatherers during the course of the meeting that he had been granted passport courtesy by the Canadian government to visit the latter country in connection with his work. He is

had been granted passport courtesy by the Canadian government to visit the latter country in connection with his work. He is

that stories had been published to the effect that he had been barred from Canada. But you haven't seen anything in the newspapers about this (his passport)." The letter from Canadian authorities no

for a pass port had been accepted rate than now. Help could likely be read to the group and later be induced from the United States inspected by some of them.

Department of Justice should investigate the state's Negro population with this civil right

congressional District. There are 25 attention. Yet such as this should incorporated municipalities in this be necessary among neighbors, cit-

county with Bessemer and Fairfield having more Negro than white citizens. There is a total of Ministers of the gospel are be-

approximately 108,000 Negro citizens of voting age in Jefferson County with Bessemer and Fairfield having more Negro than white citizens. There is a total of Ministers of the gospel are be-

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THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Recognition of women in the campaign for upgraded citizenship is illuminating the current news scene.

In Mobile, Ala. November 8 the Alabama State Conference of NAACP Branches gave a citation to Mrs. Eunice M. Taylor, widow of the late Dr. John F. Taylor and grand matron of the Order of Eastern Star, in connection with her vital contributions to the campaign to liberate the status of the Negro group. One day the details of the work done by Mrs. Taylor along this line and over opposition can be revealed. Women of the Order of Eastern Star, in connection with her and authentic programs designed to broaden and fortify democracy.

On that same slate in Birmingham, the Alpha Phi Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity presented the "Outstanding Citizen of the Year" award to Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP regional secretary. She is located in the heart of the South where she is directing regional activities aimed at developing an appreciation for the equal rights of American citizens. Her work has won the attention and the commendation of the Omega group.

Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, in a speech Nov. 13 before the National Council of Negro Women, assembled at the Department Auditorium, Washington, D. C. pointed out that six of the 22 Negro appointees to "important Federal posts" have been women.

The woman's vote is emerging as an argument in the campaign to liberalize the harsh Alabama poll tax. Mrs. Venice Tifton Spraggs, Birmingham's "native daughter" and high-ranking National Democratic Committee staff worker, is back in the city working chiefly with club groups. Senator Jimmy Faulkner of Baldwin County who is expected to announce this week his candidacy for the Alabama governorship has

been speaking among P-TA and other dominantly women's groups. The awakening in Alabama, politically speaking, is among the women.

Atlanta.
Sigma Phi Chapter, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Montgomery, Ala., honored the three-year-old "Women's Political Council" last Sunday in recognition of the substantial and spectacular work performed by the group in voter-registration and other civic projects.

Slowly but surely, the concerned leaders, conservative and liberal, are pointing to the importance of the ballot in good race relations, in cleansing politics and in widening and elevating the opportunities of the humble man. Even Dr. James Lee Dickey, featured October 24 in The Saturday Evening Post observes: "The ballot is the Negro's open-sesame to the future." One might take exceptions to the Dickey thesis, as Roy Wilkins, administrator of the NAACP, does.

Montgomery is located in the nine-county Second Congressional District which has an estimated total of only 1,932 Negro voters although 73,457 Negro citizens of voting age are in this district. Lowndes County is without a single Negro voter. There are less than 300 Negro voters, according to figures in the survey by Prof. J. E. Pierce, Baldwin, Escambia and Monroe counties which embrace the Alabama 21st Senatorial District served by Senator Faulkner. There is only one Negro voter in Monroe County.

Here is the citation presented by Omega to "The Women's Council."

It was a glorious day in 1950 when the fertile mind of Mrs. Mary Frances Fair Burks conceived the idea of the organization of women's groups to function in the area of government and politics on the community level. The three years of your existence have proved you to be an organization with hopes, aspirations, and determination to impress upon our women citizens the sacredness of the ballot in our American way of life.

Your organization has had for its main purposes: to stimulate women in more participation in government and politics as a means of improving civic condi-

tions and human relations, and to urge women to become aware of the fact that the rights, opportunities, and responsibilities which they wanted, could be realized only through proper use of the ballot and not through idle talk and wishful thinking.

Through the dynamic leadership of your founder and the organizing ability of Mrs. Mary Cross, the following chapters have been organized: The Susan B. Anthony Chapter, Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson, president; the Norma Boyd Chapter, Mrs. M. A. Jackson, president; and the Deborah Chapter Mrs. Catherine Neal Johnson, president.

Since your humble inception, your activities have been many and varied. You have sponsored a registration contest in 1951 and again in 1952 which resulted in more than one hundred new voters being added to the rolls. You have named couriers whose responsibility it has been to interest voters in the 1952 Presidential election. You have held a mock election which gave thousands of persons their first opportunity to operate a voting machine; you have inspired the organization of "Club 21" among college students to emphasize the importance of becoming registered voters upon reaching the age of 21.

In recognition of this unique and unselfish practical service, and in appreciation for the diligent, enthusiastic leadership which you have given to inspire, stimulate, and arouse out of their lethargy so many of our citizens, the Sigma Phi Chapter of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Incorporated is happy to present to you this citation on the occasion of its annual National Achievement Week observance on this Sunday, November 15, 1953.

James E. Pierce, Director of Achievement Week Observance; Henry A. Spears, Keeper of Records and Seal; John H. Ward, Chairman, Social Action Committee; Cleveland L. Dennard, basileus.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

ATLANTA, Ga. (SNS)—Opportunities and responsibilities as they relate to unfettered citizenship have been projected into the area of discussion by the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity during the latter's Achievement Week celebration.

The opportunity question is constantly before the Public, but more so today because of the manpower supply of this country and because the United States of America is advertised as the land of equality of opportunity based upon merit, ability and production.

A recent study by the National Planning Association reveals that the "color line in employment in the upper South through 15 years of depression, war, and cold war" remains "virtually unbroken."

It points out that (1) Negro citizens are "totally excluded from white collar work in white-managed firms"; (2) that Negro workers "have scarcely a toehold in supervisory jobs (while the great majority of them) are directly supervised by whites"; (3) in territorial working groups

are uncommon and (4) freezing of the job status of the Negro employment force.

"In the plants surveyed" the report says "the racial division of labor has been remarkably stable over a long period of time." It also saw a halt of the trend of 1930 toward the elimination of the Negro worker.

One might also turn to an article by Staff H. Robock, entitled, "The Negro in the Industrial Development of the South," published in the Third quarter—1953 Phylon magazine for other observations on this subject.

"Over the period from 1940 to 50, Robock writes, "the total number of Negroes employed in the Southeast declined by three per cent as compared with an increase of twenty-seven per cent in the total number of white workers. Probably more significant than this change in the total employment is the shift that has taken place in the types of industries in which Negroes have been employed in agriculture, service industries and mining declined."

He observes further: "The occupational situation in 1950, however, represents a very significant change over 1940. In three broad occupational areas (1) managers, officials, and proprietors, (2) clerical and sales workers, and (3) operatives and semi-skilled workers. Negro employment expanded more rapidly than white employment. In the professional fields and skilled craft and foremost occupations, Negro employment also expanded but at a lesser rate than for white employment."

The researcher points that the "primary industries in which job opportunities have been expanding" have been "in the skilled crafts, professional and technical, and the clerical and sales workers' field." He adds that: "The Study of the South seemed to indicate that the bulk of industrial expansion in this area resulted from the establishment of branch plants by concerns centered outside the region. The New England study showed that most of the new plants established in that area were new local enterprises."

"Therefore," he suggests, "the problem of employment in industry in the South is, for most people, a matter of securing a job as a wage or salaried worker in an industry. And here there are important opportunities for expanding the employment of Negroes in industry."

"Surprising as it may seem, job opportunities in many fields are becoming open to Negroes for which competent and well-trained Negroes are not available. It is understandable that in the past Negroes have not been trained for a large number of jobs which traditionally were closed to them. But the situation has changed very substantially in recent years and the training and education of Negroes has not caught up with the expansion in job opportunities."

"Yet Robock writes: "There are other factors which are important in the expansion of Negro employment. From the employers' point of view, the employment of Negroes in industry often requires additional eating and rest room facilities in order to conform to the customs that exist in many places in the Southeast."

These two reports loom important against the "many opportunities" speech Roy Wilkins, administrator of the NAACP delivered

The section known as the South is under the spotlight of scholars and the searchlight of the world's attention.

Yesterday at Morehouse College on the Achievement Week program of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. It fits into the discussions presented at the 53rd annual meeting of the Negro Business League convening here. It boiled un-

THE TIP - OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

TALLADEGA, ALA.—(SNS)—All but one of the 11 Negro-enrolling institutions of higher education in Alabama have Negro presidents. Stillman College, at Tuscaloosa, is the lone remaining Negro accepting college with a white-skinned president.

When schools like Talladega College were being organized to train America's new free men there were those to argue, despite contrary facts, that an ex-slave Negro could not be educated. This falling flat, the skeptics then insisted that trained Negro leaders could not successfully conduct the business of a college. This fell flat.



The inauguration of Dr. Arthur Douglass Gray as eighth president of 86-year-old Talladega College is a history-making event. He is an alumnus of the college, Southern or Alabama born, a Negro a successful leader by any yardstick. He has stepped down from a high church position to wrestle with the problems of a liberal arts college in a critical period of unrest when independent education is under challenge.

His acceptance speech was more than a restatement of old definitions; it was the acceptance of the challenge to liberal arts colleges and a counter-challenge. In his counter challenge, made to his new colleagues of Negro-devoted schools he asserted: "Let us have no part in the assertion that the sun of the private and church-related college has set. Neither should we of the so-called Negro college of the South fear and oppose the integrated school." He drew applause at this point.

His speech was delivered without manuscript. The audience sat in hushed drama as Dr. Gray unloosed himself. In declaring that, "Conversely," as regards the 'fear and oppose' idea about educational integration, he said 'let us work ardently for the day of its full realization knowing that some of us are as qualified to be integrated as some of

Presidents of Negro-entering col-

THE TIP - OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

leges must continue to develop the feeling that institutions which they pilot are good enough for any students who wants to learn. Dr. Gray seems to have put his finger on a new argument. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, has been delivering speeches in which he has suggested that the

good Negro-enrolling college will survive the passing of racial segregation.

Unknowingly Dr. Gray was delivering an uppercut to the school of thinking being loud-mouthed by some faulty educators in Birmingham that "the Negro is not ready." For a high school student who is ready for Talladega College, which is A-rated, should be ready for Birmingham Southern College, Auburn or the University of Alabama.

Good is but good, be it white or black. The "Negro is not ready" advocates are really trying to break the spirit of Negro youth, disillusion him, discourage him and hold him back.

President Gray asserted in his brilliant speech: "I have convictions on all the major issues of life and I intend to state them in the fairest and the most responsible way I can." Convictions are grounded in courage. In these days of attempted censorship, exclusion, suppression and withholding of information it is refreshing to have a man boldly to pledge the statement of his stand on the issues of the day.

Norman Cousin, editor of the Saturday Review, claims that "ideas have to breathe hard if they want to live." The idea of the Negro-identified college serving society without drawing the color line will likely have to battle for minds in which to grow.

The scholar's mission requires the study and examination of unpopular ideas," declares Dr. Harold W. Dobbs, president of Princeton University. In the South the idea of human equality in terms of being people has often been considered dangerous. Teachers, it seems to me, are merely outlets of learning.

In pre-Civil War days a number of liberal arts colleges were the hot beds of ideas of freedom. Why can't the liberal arts colleges of the middle twentieth century become the seed beds of human freedom unblurred by enforced racial segregation? Second-class citizenship is a form of slavery in new dress.

TUSKEGEE Institute—(SNS)—Consultants at the two-way Sixth Annual Trade Conference sponsored March 19-20 by the School of Mechanical Industries were a group of friendly investigators invited to make spot checks, relay helpful experiences and suggest improvements.

There are approximately 505 students scattered over the 13 trades in SML. In many of the trade divisions varied things are taught. Tuskegee has nine degree-granting schools and departments.

It is hard to present the problems facing trade education. Off-hand one gets into trouble trying to

explain trade, vocational, industrial and factory production. A trade is the companion of a profession. In view of technical advances, the advent of atomic power mass production industry, mechanized farming, the industrialization of the South, migration,



how does the Tuskegee School of Mechanical Industries fit it?

At the conference there was discussion on the vocational teacher, day trade school teacher and industrial education teacher. A day trade teacher is one with seven or more years making a living at his trade and who can still make bread with his tools, roughly speaking.

Some have felt that in the trades there was too much education and too little experience. Old-timers Tuskegeans still complain that the Institute has moved a way from its objective. They want to train the finished tradesman who can go his independent way making a living. In other words, they believe in the objective of self-employment trade training in an age that is specialized.

The conference was divided into four major features. There were the long speeches by the experts who spoke at the opening general session: the group meetings of students, faculty and consultants, open house and the general findings meeting. Students talked freely and openly about what they thought was needed. Likewise did the consultants. Teachers heard all of this,

often dissenting sometimes nodding approval, other times explaining.

Most of the trades taught at Tuskegee Institute are craft rather than industrial. Apprentice training, union bias, municipal and state laws, are things which hover like a dark cloud over such trades. One in some degree might escape the severity of this in certain trades. Suppose however he comes out a plumber or electrician? In the South it is not easy for a Negro to break through union bigotry, and other stumbling blocks placed in his path.

In Birmingham, a Negro plumber with all of the qualifications for his trade, said that he had been hired to service Negro schools in Birmingham but that the white plumbers objected and therefore he could not work. He had declined to make this incident public he says.

Around this conference were whispers of a suggestion that a committee be organized to formulate a bill of particulars on suggestions for improving the trade department. Why such bright ideas were not advanced at the conference must await an answer. This was one of the objectives of the conference and likely many of the ideas will wash out in the findings.

Tuskegee men point out to the graduates that alumni members will help them get jobs, that the name of the institution still has magic and that the National Urban League is interested in job opportunities.

Today's world is highly competitive and the competition begins before one gets to the trade school.

One Tuskegee man suggested that the school needs to do a better job of screening those it accepts. He felt that the trade department needs a job placement service. Yet do these things relate to the quality of trade training?

However President Patterson in his welcome greetings handled these questions, it seems to me. He saw the racial and geographic barriers crumbling. He knows today's man is a technical man. "There is no more any such things as a Negro job," he said. One must meet uniform standards uniformly applied, he said.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — Career conference are gaining a useful place in the program of schools which are concerned about the future of their graduates.

Morehouse College is one of the latest educational institutions to enter this field with the cooperation of the National Urban League. Career planning follows the scientific and competitive trends typical of our times. Planning which has for its goals helping human beings sometimes is attacked by the enemies of social progress.

Planning which aids business is

launched as free enterprise genius. Career planning, job surveying,

opportunity and contact - getting are vital factors in a society which has known full employment of its

approximate only during war years. For three days business and other leaders, teach-

ers, scholars and social workers, have been attending a jobs-out look workshop — April 28-29 on the Red Hill, or Morehouse College.

Career conference provide a plan for educational institutions to ask back some of their graduates who have been fairly successful in some field of service. Such reunions in a way have a "success" reunion which is a bit different from the class reunion.

Morehouse in a sense is the mother of journalists. Its student organ, The Maroon Tiger, has served virtually as the training sheet of newspapermen. Off-hand you think of the late W. A. Scott, founder of the Atlanta Daily World and its affiliates; Robert E. Johnson, associate Editor of Jet magazine; Lerone Bennett, city editor of the Daily World; Vincent Tubbs of the Afro-American; Moss Hendrix, public relations director and C. Melvin Patrick, advertising manager of the New York office of the Pittsburgh Courier, to name a few.

The liberal arts college has for its mission the development of

leadership, pioneers in ideas, developers of the better society. So what is true of Morehouse is the same story that could be written of almost any liberal arts college. Today the independent, church-related, Negro guided colleges are seeking funds, some of them through vehicles like the United Negro College Fund, to get revenue for their continuation, expansion and operation.

In returning to Morehouse, as an example of achievement, this fact should be driven home. Those who have had the good fortune to attend a college should share their achievements with the college, it seems to me. Some of us have made only a mark rather than money in our profession.

This column is no review or report on the conference. It simply slices out a feature of it for comment as it relates to a point of view.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

I am reprinting in this space today the column by Roy Wilkins which appeared in a recent issue of The California Eagle. Here it is.

There is considerable evidence that American Negroes are making other people millionaires and keeping themselves and their children in poverty and insecurity by the careless way in which they spend their money. Also by the ways in which they handle the money some of them manage to save.

It is a sad entry in the record of our economy that so many Negroes (and so many whites, too) have little or no knowledge of interest on money. The people who know about interest are the people who, in the long run, build up their wealth. The people who don't know about inter-

est, or don't care, are the ones who are living on the ragged edge while they make the other fellows wealthy.

GOOD FOR BANKS

The other day, in downtown Chicago, a bank official asked a colored lawyer friend of his, why it was that many Negro depositors in his bank let their money lie in an interest account, earning two to three per cent. He said they had a number of Negro depositors with substantial accounts, running into into a stable economic unit of sub-

the thousands, even in five figures. They take \$25 a thousand interest a year when they might be earning \$40, \$50 and \$60 a thousand on sound investments. The bank, of course does not care what they do because the bank is making money on their money. It is re-lending their thousands at four, five, and six percent — making as much profit as Negro Joe Doaks and doing it with Joe Doaks's money.

4-17-53

CADILLAC CRAZE

But it is in their spending, rather than in their handling of money that our people throw away fortunes. Take automobiles, for example. Everyone knows that (just like many whites) Negroes buy more automobiles than they really can afford. We all know the jokes about Negroes and Cadillacs — how they live in a furnished room, but own a Cadillac, Buick or Oldsmobile, how they haven't even a furnished room but sleep in the back seat of the Cadillac, how they hide it by day and drive it by night to dodge "the man," etc.

Last week a traveling supervisor for an automobile insurance business in the Middle West related how two or three used car dealers in his territory were concentrating almost exclusively on Negroes and getting rich overnight. One dealer said he could not make any money off whites because they asked too many questions about price, interest rates, repossession clauses in the contract, etc.

HIKES PRICES

All he did for Negroes, he said, was to shine up a late model car, hike the price \$500 to \$1,200 over going rates, take a down payment as low as \$50, get a signature on an iron-clad contract and the deed was done.

One customer had bought a 1950 Cadillac paid on it for 18 months and still owed \$3,200! He was about to be re-financed and trimmed some more. At the rate he is going he won't pay for the car by 1955.

One colored man making \$125 a week was paying \$125 a month on a car. Another did not know what was on the paper he signed. He said he knew the dealer and the dealer knew him — "me and him's friends and I just told him to fix me up with a car."

DOUBLE PRICES

Many colored people pay double (counting interest) for radios, television sets, rings, watches, and household appliances. Because of

their low earning power in relation to the size of their purchases, many banks will not buy the loans, leaving dealers to make arrangements with finance companies at exorbitant interest rates.

The race-wide tragedy of all this is that instead of building ourselves into a stable economic unit of sub-

stance among the general citizenship, we are living on the narrowest of margins and doing nothing for our children. When are we going to grow up?

THE TIP - OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

(Editor's note: The column by Roy Wilkins in the California Eagle is being used as a guest column today.)

Even if the Jewish Labor Committee spent only one-fifth of its budget on civil rights and FEPC, the sum would be just short of a quarter million dollars.

LEARNED

COSTS MONEY

In this great land of America, Negroes have learned many things, either by doing them, studying about them or observing them from afar. But one thing they do not seem to have learned: that to get things done in a big way one has to have money in a big way.

It is strange that this lesson should have been missed because the American way of doing things requires big money, not small money. For so many years Negroes were shut out of avenues through which big money could be made. Even as business men behind the Black Curtain of segregation, it took them a long while to learn how to pile up wealth and even today, although we have some very prosperous businesses and some moderately wealthy individuals, we are a long way from the "big money" class.

CLEARLY

We simply do not know what it costs to fight discrimination. We have not the slightest idea beyond, perhaps, \$1,000. For \$1,000 today one cannot hire a girl just to type file cards. Successful campaigns are not built on emotion, but on facts. Research work takes time and costs money. Publication of research costs money. Action by lawyers and lobbyists armed with facts costs money.



NICKELS AND DIMES

Perhaps because we made our money in small amounts we are unable to understand that a \$1,000 project cannot be handled with dime and quarter contributions, nor a \$250,000 program with \$1 bills.

The other day the Jewish Labor Committee, with members in both the AFL and CIO, closed its annual convention in Atlantic City, N. J., and announced that a good part of its work would be in the civil rights field fighting discrimination, with heavy emphasis on the passage of FEPC laws. It announced also that its budget for next year would be \$1,200,000.

The announced budget is exactly three and one-third times as large as the annual budget of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the largest, strongest, oldest, and most active civil rights organization working for Negro citizenship rights.

made huge contributions to the "Birmingham bloc" will provide the NAACP Educational Defense Fund leadership to spark the drive for more funds and wider consideration.

The late Ligon Wilson, deputy grand master at the time of his death and principal of Snow Hill Institute, served as the first chairman of the Vote Commission. There weren't then and aren't now any Negro voters in Wilcox County where he worked. Mr. Wilson was registered to vote in Macon County and was forced to vote an abstee ballot. Prince Hall Masons and the ASTA could team up to open up Negro suffrage in Wilcox as a memorial to Mr. Wilson. Should any one be able to interest Grand Master Charles V. Hendley in such an undertaking, he could singlehandedly do the job. He is a brilliant lawyer, trained at the Howard University Law School which turned out Thurgood Marshall, great NAACP civil rights lawyer.

He is backed up by approximately 40,000 Prince Hall Masons who have assets over two million dollars. Few men in this state know political action and political science with a depth and breadth to equal that of Atty. Hendley. Big timber leadership should be called on to tussle with the Negro suffrage problems as faced by deserving, patriotic and qualified Negro citizens. Humble people look for guidance and inspiration from the independent leadership.

Less than an estimated 10 percent of the Negro citizens of voting age in Alabama are on the qualified voters list. Out of an estimated 800,000 Negro citizens of suffrage age about 50,000 in this state are voters. Apathy by Negro citizens and racial obstacles by boards of registrars are terrible barriers to increased voter registration. Such officials according to a study made by the Southern Regional Council, "serve as the custodians of disfranchisement (of Negro citizens) in many a rural county."

It might be well for some of the suffrage stimulating leaders to conduct a contest on ideas for interesting citizens in getting the ballot. A selling job needs to be done on the political leaders to educate them on the ballot as a sign of interest in democracy. Good political leaders need have no fear of the intelligent and enlarged volume of voters.

Alabama needs some political missionaries to carry the gospel of manhood suffrage into the Black Belt. Voting gives vitality to democracy. The ballot is a badge of first class citizenship.

Prof. Williams as head of the ASTA vote commission has extended the classroom to the community. He has taught practical citizenship in workshops, on street corners, in club rooms, churches, in cafes and everywhere. If it is true that the

of us do now so that young people will have a better chance to get the few kinds of jobs that are open. We can use the effectiveness of group organization in an effort to bring about a more equitable distribution of jobs in keeping with the spending power of the Negro group.

It is to be hoped that the adult population of Birmingham will consider seriously what is happening to our youth and what steps we might take to curb the unfavorable consequences which are inevitable. Our city's future is dependent upon our youth of today. Better to give them a "helping hand" now while there is still time, than to bewail our loss later.

(Footnote: Annually the National Urban League promotes a series of career conferences in both high school and college. Similar projects are also being sponsored exclusively by a few enlightened colleges and high schools. But this idea seems not to have caught on with P-TA, veterans and civic groups who have an equal responsibility in the job-opening field.

It is equally true that professional groups have hardly reflected enough interest in building a job and career opportunities in their fields of labor. For instance, there are city, county and state nursing schools sponsored by public funds. Yet what are nursing groups, health-interested leaders and career-promoting advocates doing to inspire, encourage and make possible for Negro girls to break through the racial bars so that they may learn to earn and to serve. Usually overlooked or slighted in career planning is the field of religious service. What about a campaign by which each citizen interested in the job-opportunity problem facing Negro youth inquires into what he can do to help. What about encouraging Negro youth to try to find a way inspite of racial bars and group handicaps to seek for, to build, to create and to hold jobs. Bad jobs should be improved into good jobs such as the "Bonner Amendment."

Anti-labor leaders often boast that they can go over the heads of labor leaders and take the rank and file away from them. The same thing tried in the case of Negro voters. Already some of those unfriendly to the Negro group are appealing to the Negro masses to revolt against their leaders in the 1954 elections.

This observation is no plea against one thinking for himself but rather to alert the fellowship man to think twice. Without support and lacking leadership is powerless. One has to decide whether he desires to advance with his group or at its expense. The things deal with the morals of leadership and fellowship.

In the Black Belt where you have a dense Negro population there is an almost complete blackout of Negro voting. Why aren't those who say that they are interested in "freeing labor" also interested in freeing the ballot. Wilcox County, represented by Sen. J. Miller Bonner, father of "Boswell Amendment, Jr." doesn't have a single Negro voter. It is said that in Monroe County there is only one voter and that the

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

(Editor's Note: This is the fourth in a series of guest columns by Mrs. Geraldine Hamilton Cook in which she takes a look-see into the job-prevailing opportunities for Negro youth.)

By GERALDINE H. COOK
MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF
UNEMPLOYED NEGRO YOUTH

It is not sufficient to recognize that our youth are in need of assistance in making satisfactory adjustment to life through the securing of jobs. We must be willing to actually do something about the situation.

It has been pointed out that much can be achieved through the establishment of more and larger business enterprises. But there are also other things which may be done.

Schools that have not done so already might look into the possibility of setting up Job Placement Bureaus which would operate without cost to the students and would be instrumental in discovering what jobs are available and in placing

their graduates on these jobs. Our schools can place greater stress, especially in the senior year, on providing information such as, how to find out what job opportunities exist, how to apply for a job, how to choose a career, and how to analyze one's possibilities for creating his own job.

Schools can consider the possibility of revised curricula which would provide training in a larger number of fields, so that when opportunities are opened in all the various occupations presently available to whites almost exclusively, our young people will be prepared to take advantage of them. Schools and churches can conduct forums, workshops, clinics and the like for the purpose of enlightening youth as to what to fully expect after graduation, and offering suggestions on how to qualify for available jobs and how to cope with the situation when they find few jobs available.

Those of us who are working might also try to plan for retirement at an earlier age than most

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

registration takes place in the office of the sheriff.

Improvement would be on the way if Alabama had enough honest-to-the-group leaders. Many who could become voters have never taken the time to register. Others have not paid their poll tax after registering. Still others fail to work in voter-registration and political action drives.

There are several observations to make about such laws. One is that usually they are introduced by lawmakers from the South with anti-Negro records. The so-called "Solomon bill" was sponsored by Representative Emory Sorenson of Henry County. This is an almost all-farms county which four years ago did not have a single Negro voter. The N. A. A. C. P. by initiating a court action restored the ballot to Negro citizens in Henry County who had been denied this privilege since 1901.

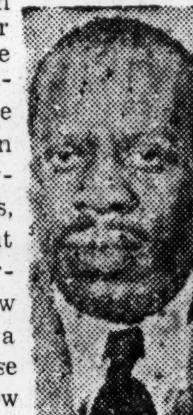
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The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — With eight days left before the annual convention of the Alabama State Teachers Association, scheduled to be held March 26-27 in Montgomery, it can be predicted that the so-called "Birmingham bloc" will oppose much of the publicized recommendations of ASTA President J. D. Thompson.

The proposed hike in dues, the lobbying budget suggested, and most of the liberal reforms are likely to be fought. But the "Birmingham bloc," unless the strategy changes, from the reports I get, will lead the fight for even a larger budget for the vote commission. Only \$500 is being asked for this vital project.

Just what the ASTA vote commission has done during the association year will be revealed when Prof. Henry J. Williams, its chairman, makes his report. Usually he makes recommendations. He has suggested that the commission be broken up into sub-chair-



men who will set up machinery to conform with the nine congressional districts.

Yet during the association year the ASTA conducts district meetings which are in many instances duplications of the annual meeting. Such district meetings should have suffrage stimulating leaders to embrace district voting chairmen, conduct a contest on ideas for interest, it seems to me. Floating teams of citizens in getting the ballot. spitfire discussionists usually like A selling job needs to be done on cadres race from one district meeting to the political leaders to educate them on the ballot as a sign of in-

terest in democracy. Good political leaders need have no fear of the intelligent and enlarged volume of Negro voters. Alabama stands at the top of the Masonic list in the number of Prince Hall Masons and its the most wealthy. This is the lone state in which the Prince Hall Masons as a craft are not throwing their full weight behind the drive for Negro suffrage. In other states, Prof. Williams as head of the Prince Hall Masons as a craft have ASTA vote commission has extended huge contributions to the NAACP Educational Defense Fund. He has taught practical citizenship

in workshops, on street corners, in club rooms, churches, in cafes and everywhere. If it is true that the Fund

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"Birmingham bloc" will provide the leadership to spark the drive for more funds and wider consideration for the ASTA vote commission, it will be paying an excellent tribute to conscientious and devoted job done by Mr. Williams. He needs encouragement and support in the field as well as on the floor of the convention, it seems to me.

THE TIP - OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON
TUSCALOOSA, ALA. — (SNS) —

To scan and study the facts and figures stuffed into the information sheet for consultants at the Sixth Annual Career Day held March 13 at Industrial High School is to unearth some startling and disturbing aspects of life and democracy in Alabama.

About fifty percent of the children enrolled comes from broken homes. Occupationally a majority of the families—140 unclassified, 286 domestic service and 35 farmers—fall into the low income groups. They are distributed over 38 classifications of work.

Contrary to my report Tuesday, Professor McDonald Hughes, IHS principal, says that the trade unions, CIO and AFL, were represented in the discussions on trades held the previous day. It was a Career Week project, he explains, instead of a single day affair. However only about 43 students were listed as interested in the trades—27 classified trades, 10 carpentry, 4 bricklayers and 2 printing.

Unless I counted wrong, about 128 students wanted education, 67 home economics and 171 nursing. In other words, when you combine education and home economics you get 185 students interested in the teaching profession. Nine were interested in engineering, three in architecture 6 in law, 2 mortuary science; 40 medicine and 8 journalism.

But not a single state-supported or tax-financed medical or nursing school in Alabama will admit Negro students. Through the efforts of the NAACP the United Sta-



own and run them.

The teaching profession cannot provide enough jobs to take care of the demands for them. Of course this view is made on the basis of the unequal existing educational opportunities for Negro citizens within the dual pattern. Reduction of racial inequalities in public education would release more jobs in this field. Equal education is too big a load for the dual school system. One cannot exist within the other, it seems to me.

A new note on teacher qualification was introduced into the conference by Prof. Carol W. Hayes of Birmingham. He feels that above the normal consideration a teacher should be a qualified voter and a participant in worthy community endeavors. Mr. Hayes was not just talking but putting into the record the things he has taught. As ASTA president some years ago he set in motion the machinery to stimulate voting among teachers.

In a prepared statement, Mr. Hayes observed:

"Investigation shows that about 9 percent of the students in teacher-training institutions major in secondary or high school education. Of that 99 percent job opportunities are available for only one percent. On the other hand, only one per cent of the students major in elementary education and special fields: as, library science, music, art and physical education. The teacher needs in these fields are approximately 99 per cent. Those who choose teaching as a career will do well to give serious consideration to this situation."

"Education must set pace for civilization. The hope of the world depends upon education, therefore, the standards are constantly being raised. Hence, the foreword in the teaching profession is "not to equal, but to excel." It is therefore necessary that you study yourselves critically. If you find thereby that you lack the qualities which make a master teacher in every sense of the word, in the interest of humanity, choose some other field for your life's work."

Often Negro business men speak to students suggesting that they are making jobs for Negro youth. Appeals for support sometimes are made on the suggestion of job building. Negro business in Tuscaloosa has a poor case, it seems to me as a job producer. Tuscaloosa is one of the few cities in Alabama where the local Chamber of Commerce has opened its doors to Negro membership. Negro business men here have had organizations of their own. Yet look at the record of Negro businesses in that vital field of creating and opening jobs. Those of us who are in business must stop kidding ourselves. Businesses assume the size of those who

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

31a News

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, BA-7
TON ROUGE, LA.—(SNS)—Scholarly, collegiate, commercial and instructional journalist were here out in the open. It should reveal the March 27-28 for the Second Annual truth about what is going on—Ex-Digest Press Conference Workshop.



In a way, this project is a tribute to Dr. Felton G. Clark, president of this institution, who has been a valuable friend of the Negro Newspaper Press. In the earlier days of the National Newspaper Association. Dr. Clark was one of the educational leaders along

with Dr. R. S. Atwood of Kentucky State College and Dr. Albert Dent of Dillard College who labored in inspirational and other ways to help and to encourage the NNPA. The press workshop here is another effort in the direction of improving the newspaper press. For the campus newspaper has been to the professional newspaper press what the minor leagues have been to the major leagues in baseball. In that respect, the campus newspaper or magazine is more than the laboratory of the English Department and the journalism department.

Problems of the press generally have been discussed, and by teachers of journalism and practicing journalists. John Goldsmith and William L. Hair of the School of Journalism, Louisiana State University; Bill Williams, assistant sports editor, State Times; S. W. Austin, department of Photography Southern University; Frank Stanley, Louisville Defender and C. C. Dejoie of the Louisiana Weekly were among the consultants.

Directing the conference is English Professor Horace K. Dawson, Jr., native of Augusta, Georgia and graduate of Lincoln (Pennsylvania) University where he was a member of the campus newspaper. Cal M. Harrison is editor of The Digest and Roy L. Wimbush, conference chairman. Mr. Dawson conducts during the conference a short course "For The High School Editor." He has written a 10-page mimeographed textscript for the course. It is a well prepared guide for the high school editor.

Mr. Goldsmith who was a working newspaperman before adding two degrees in journalism, discuss-

ed the editorial and editorial writing. He tried to condense into a half-hour lecture the substance of a semester course. This brought up to give the glimpse of the kind of things which went on in this training conference.

"The power of the press," he said, exists in its ability to bring things out in the open. It should reveal the March 27-28 for the Second Annual truth about what is going on—Ex-Digest Press Conference Workshop.

Questions were thrown at the panel leaders as if they were pinballs in a bowling alley. Inquisitive student editors seem to be eager to learn, desiring ideas for producing better school newspaper and rendering superior services. Most of the panels were conducted by students and revealed the operations of the campus press.

To me the editor's chair should be the hot seat of healthy ideas. The campus press should be the thinking press. It should champion change that has for its goal correction. Challenge is the father of change. The campus newspaper should be the organ of change.

The editorial page is the battleground of ideas instead of the playground of prejudice. The aim of ideas is to expand enlightenment.

Advocacy is the bloodhound of action.

Freedom of the press is something which belongs to the people in a democracy. Newspaper editors are no more than the trustees of the press. The more editors and readers realize this the better it will be for freedom and for democracy, it seems to me. Freedom is a perilous, precious, and perishable thing. The newspaper press is the bodyguard of the people's freedom.

The Negro newspaper is an organ of communication, a voice of freedom, a formidable foe of bigotry, a medium of goodwill the champion of the underdog and the crusader for first-class citizenship. A Negro editor must be more than a desk man. He must be a fighting leader. His pen is his sword. Words are the editor's atom bombs.

It seems to me that more and more the Negro press is becoming the leadership press in America today. No section of the press is speaking out louder, bolder and often than it is for democracy in opposition to democracy's enemies within and without and also standing firm and solidly on ethical, moral, and democratic grounds. Struggle has made it spiritually strong. Smothered news is freedom crushed.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

31a News

CAMPBELL COLLEGE, JACKSON, MISS.—(SNS)—Four different Greek Letter organizations, holding regional conferences in this city, by jointly inviting Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to address their future mass meeting, obviously were demonstrating their support of the present fight of the NAACP for a de-segregated school democracy.

As soon as Mr. White had spoken, Mississippi Governor Hugh White, released a statement suggesting that the NAACP leader will "not have any influence over Mississippi Negroes." However, some "Mississippi Negroes" were among the leaders of Negro college-trained citizens in eight Southern states who invited NAACP White, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity and Omega Psi Phi Fraternity to this city.



In these four Greek Letter organizations were outstanding leaders in the N. A. A. C. P. In one particular Alpha Phi Alpha, has come numerous contributions to the NAACP in the fight for first-class citizenship.

APA has sponsored test cases, supplied money and presented programs side by side with the NAACP. The Mississippi Governor said that the great NAACP leader was "a rabble-rouser who speaks for only about 125,000 out of the 15,000,000 Negroes in this country." He adds: "I am sure he will not have any influence over Mississippi Negroes and I know what he says will have no effect upon Mississippi's intention to equalize white and Negro schools." The NAACP leader doubted that Mississippi or any other Southern state with the dual-plan school system would make them practically, to say nothing of democratically, equal. He challenged the figures used by some Southern leaders on the amount of money actually needed to bring Negro public schools up to those enjoyed by white students.

What is interesting about all of this is the fact that Gov. White's action to the NAACP leader's

nor adequately quoted in the news service stories, it seems to me. Meantime, Mr. Greene seemed to have tripped himself up in trying to make a point by citing some queer and questionable "ethenic" theories. The militant editor told a panel held by Walter White, during the comment-from-the-audience period, that he was totally opposed to the segregated school system. However, he did not see how segregation issue. It was in the field of foreign affairs he sought to call so long as there were strictly Negro communities. This was an all-Greek Letter Organization Public forum held Friday afternoon in the auditorium of Campbell College. A number of Mississippi leaders used the occasion to denounce the segregated school system but the stories I read in the general press neglected to mention this.

At eight o'clock Friday night, April 13, the Mississippi State Association of Negro Democratic Clubs led by Editor Greene, is presenting Congressman William L. Dawson in a statewide patriotic rally at the College Park Auditorium. Mr. Dawson is vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

This way, it seems to me, teachers were not given an opportunity to show their sentiments in regard to the NAACP. However, the "Mississippi Program" has been sharply criticized by NAACP leaders here in Jackson and in other sections of this state.

In an editorial, April 4, Editor Greene, suggested that the task of working for equality in education be placed in the hands of leaders other than teachers. The editorial asserts in part: "In the matter of equalization of Negro Education in the South, and the rest of the nation, for that matter, the greatest contribution has been made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, because of whose efforts some notable gains have been made and an aroused public opinion is now demanding action in the matter of Negro education everywhere, including Mississippi. According to reports, despite the work of the President of the President of the State Teachers Association is being charged with saying that he did not want the teachers organization to have anything to do with the N. A. A. C. P. during his (Boyd's) administration."

Mr. Greene has been widely quoted in stories by wire services based upon an editorial he wrote which was presented in a way to make him seem to give a backhanded endorsement to the segregated school system. The editorial in question was neither fully

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Now the questions begin to turn toward Birmingham.

For in Mobile, where a lawsuit failed to accomplish the goal, there has come a partial victory in the campaign to knock down racial barriers erected around civil service jobs. The non-white ban has been recently lifted off job applications for police work. This paves the way for the employment of Negro policemen.

Through alert and responsible NAACP leadership the Mobile Branch recently blocked a plan to force Negro nurses attending the annual convention of the Alabama State nurses Association to use the rear entrance at Admiral Semmes Hotel.

Some 41 Negro nurses and 150 white nurses attended the four-day meeting. John L. LeFore, honored last month by the Alabama State Conference of NAACP Branches as the state's "outstanding citizen of the year," was in the thick of the effort to help the Negro nurses avoid the humiliation, frustration and heart-breaking embarrassment of having to use a vicious and wicked "Jim Crow entrance."

Here in Montgomery where E. D. Nixon is president of the Montgomery Progressive Democratic Association, the way has just about been opened for the adding of Negro law enforcement officers to the city police forces, it is revealed. "We seem to be on the road to getting Negro police officers here and we are now screening some men to recommend to the newly elected commissioner," a civic leader said.

What are the leaders, so-called, doing in the Magic City, they asked? Your Birmingham leaders, so-called, seem to tag along, say one day the ban against Negro ballplayers will be lifted, and a week later cool off, and lay off of it. Are the Birmingham leaders, so-called, doing more fooling than leading,



they want to know? Are the big boys in the big buildings really leaders at all? So you have the question, to answer or to forget. And they bring up the Medical Center, and the way some of the leaders, so-called, played both sides.

Those of us who have regarded Birmingham as the capital of leadership which faithfully serves the Negro group in its just and determined bid for first-class citizenship are shocked to find the fading practice of these leaders as we move about over the state. That is why

it is profitable for a newspaper columnist to move around once and a while and listen to the crackle of sentiment from rank and file leaders whose support is necessary for the big timber leadership to have strength.

Now back to the accounting on the status of Negro voting in Alabama. A further check from the files of Prof. J. E. Pierce indicates that the date on Dale County was inadvertently omitted from his survey. His figures reveal that Dale County has 2453 non-white of voting age and 160 qualified voters. Baldwin County has 4473 Negro citizens of voting age and 225 Negro voters. Colbert has an estimated 450 Negro voters.

Because his report is so friendly and also represents something encouraging in the way of journalistic cooperation, I am taking the liberty to print the full text of a letter received from Editor Fred Elland of the Cleburne News, Heflin, in reply to an inquiry from me on the status of Negro voting in Cleburne County. Here it is:

Dear Mr. Jackson

This is in answer to your recent question concerning the number of Negro voters in Cleburne County.

To my knowledge, there are no Negro voters in the county. To my knowledge, there has never been a single request for registration by any Negro citizens of Cleburne County. To my knowledge, if any of our Negro residents came before the Board of Registrars, he would receive treatment given any registrant of white color.

As you know, this county has less than 100 Negro citizens. Until the past two years, the schools have been below par. Educational facilities are now in rather good condition, constantly improving. A full 12 grade school is now in operation.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

I do not know what use this information will be put to, but sincerely hope that nothing is taken out of context. A good foundation is being laid here: I hope that it can support future work without damage from outside agitation.

Sincerely
Fred Elland

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Monroe, and to an extent in Macon county, it seems to me.

Former Senator Bruce Henderson of notorious Wilcox county in his bid for the governorship will start out with a triple handicap. The group which make up the largest hunk of the population of Wilcox County is wholly excluded from the ballot box. So he must begin on a narrow base at home where he should poll his heaviest strength.

This cuts down his strength among the group over the state to which the racially disfranchised belong. Other minority groups are likely to look twice, and then away, at one whose voice has apparently given assent to the denial of the ballot to another disadvantaged segment. It'll be hard for any candidate to overcome handicaps like these three.

It occurs to me that a look should be taken at every candidate running next Spring for statewide office to see whether they come from or were born in those counties which deny the ballot on the basis of prejudice. The point is, they could do something back home to help undo the injustice and thus seat themselves with those who believe in good government.

The governor, the state auditor and the commissioner of industry and agriculture represent the appoint board which decide on the members of the 67 boards of registrars. If there are no Negro voters in Wilcox, Lowndes, and etc., it should be determined to what extent those who helped make the appointments should share the blame. This should be kept in mind in scanning the list of candidates in 1954.

When you watch the parade, beautiful as it is, and think about Lowndes county where the Negro group is kept behind the iron curtain of racial disfranchisement, a blur seems to settle over your sight. The shocking story of suffrage denials beyond belief boils up.

You aren't going to hear of any investigations of things like this. So the parade goes on, grows bigger, and gets costlier.



THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

GADSDEN, Ala. — (SNS) — Citizens here seem to have a new community spirit of working together.

For the Negro group, Gadsden is the focal city of the Fifth Congressional District. The only branch of the NAACP in this district and the only Negro-produced weekly are located in this booming, growing, proud city with its industrial flourish.

The Call-Post ("Voice of the People"), owned and published by K. J. Sullivan, Sr., has moved into its new plant which is modestly equipped with a press, casting machine, and lacks only a linotype to the promoters of Amendment No. 1. This is both silly and ridiculous. It is mentioned only as an example of the extremes that certain persons will go who are unable to present a logical, factual, rational argument on an issue.

Former Gov. Frank Dixon, one of the foes of poll tax reduction, had a two-year back poll tax amendment as a plank in his platform. Apparently he has reversed himself, which is his privilege in this great country. Gov. Gordon Persons was elected upon a platform which included the spirit of Amendment No. 1. A Democratic administration voted to submit the matter to the voters. Then where does either the N. A. A. C. P. or the Communist Party come in?

The NAACP in its 1950 general annual conference in Boston, Mass. reaffirmed its traditional opposition to the Communist Party. The N. A. A. C. P. uses the democratic and constitutional process, the American way, and the good neighbor spirit to achieve its program. The two organizations have nothing in common. Distortion of facts is a device used by the Communists and naturally one should become disturbed when it appears that an honorable group adopts, at any time and for any reason, such methods.

Amendment Number 1 deserves the support of the voters, it seems to me.

5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Negro Negroes

Voters 21 or over

Counties	Negro	Negroes
Voters 21 or over		
Chambers	20	1,170
Cherokee	55	734
Cleburne	0	375
DeKalb	0	438
Etowah	800	7,653
Marshall	0	596
Randolph	154	2,727
Tallapoosa	200	5,073
Total	1,229	34,766

The above information is taken partly from the "Report on Negro Voting in Alabama" prepared by

Prof. J. E. Pierce of Alabama State College at Montgomery, Ala. It reveals that less than 3 per cent of Negro citizens of voting age in the eight-county Fifth Congressional District are on the eligible voting

lists. There are reports based upon published accounts of North Alabama weekly newspapers that should qualify Negro citizens present themselves for voter-registration in Cleburne, DeKalb and Marshall counties there probably would be no opposition to their registering to vote. The Alabama State Teachers Association has an "every-teacher-a-voter" program which is being promoted through its vote commission. The Alabama Baptist Convention at its recent annual meeting held in Montgomery, Ala., passed a resolution urging Baptist to register to vote, pay their poll tax and vote. Almost every civic and patriotic group is urging citizens to qualify as voters and participate in their government as a mobilization against subversive activity.



Gadsden has progressive professional and business men. A member of the Negro group operates a modern training establishment and doctor runs an up-to-date clinic. Rev. S. M. Bradford is president of the political action group. The churches have thrown their full support behind their Call-Post as evidenced in the church page published in this journal. Among the first NAACP youth councils in Alabama was organized in Etowah County. Many of these N. A. A. C. P. youths have developed into outstanding leaders.

The "Sixth Annual Meeting" sponsored by the Etowah Branch NAACP was held at the St. John CME Church pastored by the Rev. G. M. Frazier. The branch is piloted by Mr. Frank Johnson, a veteran NAACP leader and dedicated battler for human decency. Women leaders like Mrs. Annie L. Varner and Mrs. Nazarine Thomas, the latter branch secretary, are rendering devoted service to the cause of freedom, justice and goodwill among mankind.

In reading the December 13 issue of The Gadsden Times there appeared an advertisement by the "Democratic Committee Against Amendment 1" which carried some of the same "emo-

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

read October 31 before the Conference on Higher Education held at Tuskegee Institute. Prejudice has a way of offsetting progress.

Associated Industries, the National Manufacturers Association, the Farm Bureau, and the Chamber of Commerce, are among the organizations in a position to do something about this. Too often in the labor force reports formulated the rich reservoir of Negro labor is ignored, although it has been the backbone of the pre-change South.

The Negro is winning the full use of the ballot and his increasing purchasing power has been discovered. Yet the gap in purse power between the Negro worker and the white worker is still too big, dangerously out-of-balance.

In a speech before the Southern College Placement Officers Association, which met December 4-5 in Biloxi, Miss., Robert of Snowgrass, president of the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, Ga. is quoted as saying: "The problem of segregation and living without it in the South presents a problem to employers and educators."

He is further quoted as observing that "industrialization implies that the Negro must have a fair share of it so as to become an American citizen who can pay his own way in taxes . . . and contribute to the national welfare."



He rejected the idea that the

E. O. Jackson

South's industrial progress since 1929 has been as great as some of its boosters say and suggested that "relatively speaking (it) has lost ground to the rest of the nation." He went on to add: "But our gains have been on the solid ground in the new industries we have gotten and the new agricultural pattern we have developed."

Mr. Snowgrass regards the "chief problem" of the South as that of "keeping its labor supply—both Negro and white—from going elsewhere after receiving their training in the South."

"We are thereby supplying the non-South with the only economic ingredient that they lack for continued expansion. As long as we feed them labor they (the non-South) can grow as fast as we can, or faster."

To become industrialized the South must become enlightened with regards to its labor supply. This point was graphically presented by Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Conference in a paper

Spokesmen for the Negro group are going to have to be alerted to the role that education plays in the current job-getting business. The so-called "Negro trade schools" are going to have to be inspected, overhauled, and industrial training reconstructed. Too many of the "Negro training schools" are merely jokes. The Negro and industry in the South have too much in common not to be able to get together it seems to me.

THE TIP - OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Sports Columnist Luther Carmichael of the Nashville Globe and Independent on December 19, 1952 had a piece in his journal dealing with a trip back to Wilcox County. It was interesting reading, as you will see later. But let me down terribly.

Wilcox County is one of those Negro-vote denying counties, or one in which Negro citizens have put up no vigorous, all-out effort to restore their exercise of manhood suffrage. There are in Wilcox, as in Lowndes, Monroe, and Marshall, similarly Negro disfranchising spots, well-heeled, brain-polished, and getting-along-well with the white folk Negroes, who do not vote. Among them are school teachers, Prince Hall masons, ministers of the gospel, landlords but no voters.

For a number of years now the Alabama State Words

NOTED FOR ATHLETICS

Teachers Association, listing around 8,000 chalk athletic outfits. Back in the days of the Durant family furnished numerous diamond stars, including Prof. Henry J. Williams, chairman of the ASTA's vote committee, has spearheaded the work of the county associations curve of the hands. Floyd Johnson and district leaders have not equalled or compensated his efforts. Under the delegate assembly plan, pin-point control: Floyd Johnson is supposed to be vehicles for putting over the association program. The players from the institute reached ASTA could activate such units by stardom at leading colleges. High refusing to seat in its convention on the list are the Edwards Brothers, William, Jr., and Wendell. The former became the noted "Rock-jaw" fullback at Talladega, while the latter glittered at Alabama State and Talladega.

Here follows the reflections of Columnist Carmichael:

BACK TO OUR ALMA MATER

There is always something touching about a visit back by one's Alma Mater. Matters not how long it has been since you took unto yourself that sheepskin. Such was the feeling we experienced recently. Although we've been on the when we had occasion to return to the campus several times since the campus of Snow Hill Institute we left that section of the land, we down in Alabama. 'Twas a sorrow

ful occasion for us, but as these folks at the Institute found doing their best to make things easier.

They call this section of the "Here We Rest" State the "Black Belt" due to the fact that Americans out-number the pale faces. Founded back in the roaring nineties. Snow Hill Institute owes its birth and its place in the sun of the late William James Edwards, one of Tuskegee's most distinguished graduates. Like Booker T. Washington, he believed in helping his people to a better station in life. The late Mr. Edwards had grown up on the plantations in and around Snow Hill, where he was to return after his stay at Tuskegee and work and toil and sacrifice among his homefolks. There he died in 1950, and toil on the slope of the hill near the site of beloved old Washington Hall reposes his body beneath a beautiful granite marker with this epitaph "Deeds, Not Words".

Teachers Association, listing around the place has been noted for first rate wielders, when we were around the place, sponsored a program designed to stimulate voting among teachers. Prof. Henry J. Williams, chairman of the ASTA's vote committee, has spearheaded the work of the county associations curve of the hands. Floyd Johnson and district leaders have not equalled or compensated his efforts. Under the delegate assembly plan, pin-point control: Floyd Johnson is supposed to be vehicles for putting over the association program. The players from the institute reached ASTA could activate such units by stardom at leading colleges. High refusing to seat in its convention on the list are the Edwards Brothers, William, Jr., and Wendell. The former became the noted "Rock-jaw" fullback at Talladega, while the latter glittered at Alabama State and Talladega.

Cora Gains did her high school stint at the institute and became one of the world's greatest women track stars at Tuskegee. Although we've been on the when we had occasion to return to the campus several times since the campus of Snow Hill Institute we left that section of the land, we down in Alabama. 'Twas a sorrow

THE TIP - OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

the beam, to put it mildly. To have MONTGOMERY, ALA. — (SNS) our best educated people, members of our college fraternities and sororities, advancement-minded leaders are studying ways to contribute to pion that their education has not the general welfare through eco-nomic action.



Dr. L. D. Green, Specifically, it failed to give a Birmingham them balance. I don't believe we civic minded should jump down the throats of physician, is our Greek societies for this fabu-chairman of the lous exhibiton of spending power. Organization for They deserve to be spanked, but Cooperative Eco not mauled with a baseball bat. nomic Action There is nothing wrong with a good (O. C. E. A.) of time and what better occasion than which you will the Chrismas-New Year season? hear much about There is nothing wrong with hold in 1953. Lasting conventions and spending a Monday night little more than the average to the Tuskegee have a good meeting, renew friend Civic League ships, and enjoy some hours of relaxation from the regular grind of Gomillion pro-moted a supper EXTRAVAGANT SCALE

forum on the question of the quality of the ballot, education and which it is done. A truck driver business in the general and cultural advancement of society. Our lead ers are discovering a new approach to first-class citizenship through economics directed by intelligence, inspiration and research

The sin comes in the scale on which it is done. A truck driver who makes about \$75 a week relaxes with a few beers or a few drinks of blended whiskey. He Vanderbilt relaxes with champagne, imported liqueurs and a butler. He dances in white tie and tails.

In a recent essay published in The California Eagle, Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, discusses phase of this same problem which is being reprinted here today. Mr. Wilkins shows how some of this new economic power could be vested in a group and at the same time make

The Greeks, despite the implications of this terrific spending for

creative American democracy. Come now and speak, Roy: a good time, do spend money for

Everyone remembers the story which ends with the admonition, "Tell 'em we's rising." Well, the business the year around and some race is indeed rising and the signs are all about us. Some of them support a lobby in Wash-

OUT OF PROPORTION

Besides, the \$2,225,000 figure does not mean that the fraternities and sororities themselves spent all this money out of their treasures. They were held in four cities during spent a good deal (\$40,000 was the Christmas week. The story estimates that \$2,225,000 was spent by the 10,000 delegates, wives, husbands, friends and visitors to the

OFF THE BEAM

The evil of the whole thing is that it was out of proportion. We are a poor people, better off by far than we were years ago, but still poor by general standards. I know a man who is trying to get Negroes interested in establishing a day good time seems a little off television station, offering his ex-

part services in getting them a channel.

The deal requires a minimum of \$500,000. No one will listen to him. I know another man who has been trying for a year to get Negroes to establish first class retail stores on more than a corner-lot scale. The initial investment to get off to a flying start is about \$150,000. No one will listen. He is an expert in merchandising and swears that the stores, developed on a chain basis will make millions in just a few years.

FUR COATS AND CHAMPAGNE

We have no money for these things. But we have money for coats and champagne and taxicabs and tailcoats. We drink bonded whiskey, imported wines, ride in drawing rooms on the train (or drive our Cadillacs) and rent hotel suites. There is nothing wrong with doing these things. It feels good to do them. We should do them—if we can afford to do so, really afford the cost.

Jews do these things, but they give 150 millions dollars a year to the United Jewish fund at the same time. Other people do these things, but at the same time they are setting up a two million dollar cooperative housing corporation, or a factory, or a bank.

Yes, "we is rising" in the sense that we now wear shoes instead of going barefoot, but ever so often we pull off a stunt that proves we are still children playing our way through an adult world.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Less than forty days after the Alabama State Teachers Association meets (March 26-27) in Montgomery, the biennial session of the State Legislature will convene on Goat Hill.

Tampering with the teacher tenure act is among items on the legislative calendar. A joint legislative committee is planning to suggest changes. Leaders of the Alabama Education Association, which has a full-time paid executive secretary, have been keeping a close eye on this committee working on the proposed revision of tenure law.

Lawmakers listen only to voters except when they heed their own conscience on the bidding of lobbyists. Lobbyists are only effective only where they can put up pressure through suffrage and dollars for their programs. Money is needed to build up educational campaigns for or against something. The AEA has kept an effective lobbyist on the job to watch legislation in the making and warning teachers when it affects their interest.



Here in Birmingham recently the members of the Jefferson County Negro Teachers Association had an opportunity to see demonstrated the importance of the ballot. It was dramatized in the three mill educational tax. A number of county teachers could not vote. In some school communities few, and some times no Negro voters were to be found. This indeed would seem to be a reflection on the church, the teaching profession and trade unionists.

"Every County Teacher A Voter" is the citizenship slogan of the JC NTA. Yet its vote commission on page two of "The County Mirror," association organ, February 28, 1953 has this to say, in part:

"It has been the opinion of your committee on voting in the Jefferson County Negro Schools that its teachers have not become sufficiently conscious of their civic and political responsibility. The study made by your committee in 1951 revealed that approximately of the teachers of our system are qualified electors."

Apparently the vote-stimulating committee has not brought its figures up to date. Its report is barren of any data on present efforts to encourage teachers to register to vote. Fortunately would-be voters in Jefferson County may apply for the ballot Monday, Tuesday and Saturday of every week.

The vote committee's report says further: "It was pointed out in a recent meeting of The Progressive Democratic Council meeting that it should be the responsibility of every public school teacher along with every lay citizen to use the ballot as a weapon to enact legislation that vitally affects its citizenry."

In a monumental study, the Southern Regional Council, pointed out in its organ, New South, 1953, "Even where the right to vote is secure, ignorance and apathy—those ageless enemies of popular government—seriously impede the Negro's civic progress."

When a teacher doesn't vote, it hurts harder. Humble people look upon teachers as civic examples. The failure by teachers to vote convey the false impression to the community that the ballot isn't important. Examples of this kind are

unhealthy for democracy. The ballot is one of the best ways to popularize democracy. Teachers who do not vote arouse the feeling in us that democracy needs to be sold at home before it is offered abroad. How can you tell our friends in other lands that we love democracy and won't even vote to keep it healthy?

Encouraging reports on teacher voter-registration comes from two Black Belt counties. Miss Tessie M. Oliver, the Jeanes supervisor of Bullock County reveals there are seven Negro voters in that county now. Miss Oliver is from Birmingham and once headed the vote commission of the Alabama Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. This column on other occasions unhappily had to reveal the blackout of Negro voting in Bullock. The point was made that supervisors and principals could utilize the prestige of their positions and the patriotic nature of their profession to open political suffrage doors to qualified Negro citizens.

Prof. J. F. Shields of the Monroe County Training School, Beatrice, Ala., reports that he is a registered voter. It is reported that Negro citizens had been kept off the voting lists in Monroe County since the adoption of the 1901 state constitution. In no section of Alabama does a Negro face hostile barriers as stiff and unrelenting as they are in the democracy-forsaken Black Belt. That it is which you have to shower credit on efforts like Miss Oliver's and Mr. Shields'. That is why it is a heart-breaking story to have to reveal the failure of a large number of public school teachers in the Birmingham area to vote.

What teachers have done in Bullock and Monroe counties, it seems to me, that Robert Robert Pierce, principal of the Lowndes County Training School Hayneville and Prof. Joseph Davis, principal of Snow Hill Institute, Wilcox County, could do in becoming registered and qualified voters. The fault is hardly in the county but in the school principals who make no effort to be good examples for democracy in the classroom.

The Tip-Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — The April 1953 issue of Southern Farm and Home, published by



Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Alabama, reprints an article by Allen

Rankin, newspaper columnist, which is being passed on to the

readers of this space. It is entitled, "Let's Quit

Clowning About Segregation." Here it is:

BY ALLEN RANKIN

What's the South going to do if the U. S. Supreme Court rules that school classroom segregation is unconstitutional?

Nothing, we hope, just nothing at all. Except, of course, accept the ruling, whatever it be, with quiet good grace.

Threats of violence are criminal stupidity. Trying to dodge the decision is slapstick comedy stuff. The two dodges suggested for Alabama so far propose to a state stick its face in the custard pie to avoid being hit by the tomato. They are:

1) That we abolish our whole public school system and replace it with "free private schools" financed by the state.

2) That we substitute a state-owned television system for our classrooms. "There would be no problem of segregation if instructions were beamed directly into homes," says this gag's sponsors.

Ha, ha.

Number one dodge is about as subtle as a meat-axe. How long would it take the Supreme Court to throw it out? What sort of mess would our school system be in if it did? Or, for that matter, if it didn't?

Number two, the television dodge, far outstrips even the most optimistic TV addict's estimate of the powers of his play-pretty at present, and is otherwise dream stuff.

Of course, say its backers, there would have to be TV school reception centers spotted over the state for the convenience of families who could not afford private television sets.

Would anything prevent Negroes from attending these centers? Or whites from attending Negro centers?

And if so would only those white

children rich enough to have television sets in the home be exclusive enough to attend "Negroless" TV schools? Would only TV-affluent Negroes be exclusive enough to attend "whiteless" schools?

SCHOOL FOR SNOBS

Wouldn't this plan turn out to be for the exclusive benefit of the well-heeled, tending to produce exclusive snobs?

Will children with big-screen TV sets be more amply educated than those with small-screen jobs. Will those with high-priced clear-vision screens grow up more clear-headed than those with cheaper, blurrier models?

Will any school teacher be able to survive for Hooper rating?

Only "the best" teachers will be chosen for television. But who'll say who "the best" are? Will one mastermind stamp his English, his history, his politics on a million children? Heil Hitler.

There's another reason we believe parents of both races would march to the capitol to protest the television plan. It has taken a couple of hundred years to evolve a school system that gets our children out of our hair for at least seven hours a day. Is anyone going to give up this Great Sixth Freedom and substitute, therefore, the parent-peonage home-school plan?

MOUNTAINS OF MOLE HILLS

Personally we think mountains are being made of mole hills on the segregation issue. We have long since lost this fight, if we consider it a fight. While some diehards baw about the "impossibility" of anti-segregation laws, the South is quietly becoming unsegregated. In many places in Montgomery Negroes work side by side with whites at the same job. Nobody says, or even thinks anything about it anymore.

While our separate public schools are desirable to both races, certainly the segregation tactic in education has been abused at adult level. It has always seemed to me wasteful if not inhumane that Negro medical students are not allowed to enjoy the advantages of our State Medical College. This duality at high technical level is expensive in more ways than one. In this particular case it impedes the Negro race in developing its own doctors. Thus we maintain a heavier medical burden on our own race.

Even if the court does rule that Negroes may attend white schools, we believe that barring stupid violence, there would be no major change in the status quo.

Most Negroes would by preference, go on attending their own schools, just as would most whites. We believe this would be particularly true in predominantly black counties.

Some few Negro children might

be pushed into white schools by agitators. We hope these schools or a few pratt-fall that will hurt more than

(From ALABAMA JOURNAL, January 23, 1953; column "Rankin in File" titled "Let's Quit Clowning About Segregation" by Allen Rankin.)

Why should the presence of a few wise may be to execute a slapstick

by Negroes in white schools or a few pratt-fall that will hurt more than a major crisis?

Let us quietly—and uncomically—

treat them as children.

(Negro) Louis Lautier

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

By Louis Lautier

DID IKE SEND?

WAS MRS. JANE Morrow Spaulding, assistant to Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, summoned to the White House the other Friday for a conference relating to Mrs. Hobby's answer to the telegram Repre-



Mr. Lautier

Cabinet meeting at the White House that day, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, participated in the conference with the members of President Eisenhower's staff. Incidentally, the Hobby reply to the Powell telegram, which a spokesman for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare said was being sent and Powell could make it public, if he wished, was never mailed.

Reference 6-20-53
Rea Gagged

Another report is that Mrs. Spaulding was ready to issue a statement counseling colored people to be patient until she was counseled not to issue such a statement.

Incidentally, Prophet Jones of Detroit visited the Pentagon last Wednesday and held a prayer meeting in Evans' office.

Washington hears that Ed Dudley, American Ambassador to Liberia, is all packed up and ready to return to the States

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune: Bert Andrews won no Pulitzer Prize for this enterprise, but I think the story ought to be told because it illustrates the spirit, initiative and courage which made him a great newspaper man.

I made application for admission to the Congressional Press Galleries in 1945. No colored reporter had ever been a member of the galleries—certainly not in relatively modern times. James D. Preston, who was once the Superintendent of the Senate Press Gallery, and is now Registration Clerk in the Office of the Secretary of the Senate, tells me that before the turn of the century Frederick Douglass, anti-slavery orator and journalist, was an accredited correspondent.

My first application was rejected on the ground that my "principal earned income" was not "obtained from daily graphic correspondence for a daily newspaper" as required by the rules. At the time I was jointly employed by the "Atlanta Daily World" and the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, receiving 50 per cent of my salary from each.

After an increase in salary, which resulted in my getting 55 per cent of my salary from "The World," I requested reconsideration of my application.

Nearly a year's delay ensued. Then, on March 4, 1947, the Standing Committee of Correspondents, which governs the press galleries, notified me that "after exhaustive deliberations and a personal hearing," my application had been rejected again "as not coming within the rules covering admissions to the press galleries."

A few minutes after I received and read this notice, I got a telephone call from Mr. Andrews. He asked me whether I had received a letter from the committee and what did it say. I told him.

"Would you mind reading the entire letter to me?" he asked. "I want to have some fun."

I told him I did not mind. He then put his secretary on the telephone line and I read her the letter. The next morning, Thursday, March 6, 1947. The

New York Herald Tribune carried a story, "Negro Barred from Congress Press Galleries," under Bert Andrews' byline. One paragraph said:

Andrews had not taken up the cudgels when he did, I would not have been admitted and Negro correspondents would still be barred from the Congressional Press Galleries.

LOUIS LAUTIER,
Chief, National Negro Press
Association.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 24,
1953.

A Negro's Debt to a Great Reporter

The Standing Committee's action attracted unusual attention this year because it came so closely on the heels of President Truman's presentation last Friday night of the Wendell L. Willkie awards for outstanding Negro journalism. The awards were set up to encourage white and Negro co-operation in the field of journalism. Mr. Truman, in presenting the awards, said many examples of 'courageous and constructive' reporting and editorial writing can be cited in the Negro press."

There immediately followed other newspaper stories in the metropolitan dailies, editorials, comments by columnists, and a protest by fourteen Nieman journalists at Harvard. Mr. Andrews followed with a second news story on March 9, 1947, "Negro Appeals Congress Press Gallery Ruling."

As early as Jan. 29, 1946, I had requested Sen. Harry F. Byrd, D., of Va., who was the chairman of the Senate Rules Committee in the Seventy-ninth Congress, to have his committee determine my eligibility. I made a similar request of Sen. C. Wayland Brooks, R., Ill., who was chairman of the Rules Committee in the Eightieth Congress.

After the matter became the subject of wide publicity, Sen. Brooks acted speedily. He first telephoned to find out whether I would be available for a conference with him later in the week. Then on March 15, 1947, he sent me, by the clerk of the committee, a notice that he was calling a meeting of the Rules Committee on March 18 to hear my complaint.

The hearing was held and the Rules Committee, including Sen. Spessard L. Holland, D., of Fla., voted unanimously for my admission.

During this fight I received aid and encouragement from a lot of people, including Griffing Bancroft, the only member of the five-member committee of correspondents to vote for my admission; Mrs. May Craig, correspondent for a group of Maine newspapers, and Miss Doris Fleeson, a columnist. But I am firmly of the opinion that if Mr.

Capitol Spotlight

LOUIS LAUTIER
SMPA STAFF WRITER

the Negro surely will."

WASHINGTON.— For a closer insight into the legal reasoning of Justice Felix Frankfurter and Supreme Court upholding Beauharnais' conviction. Five opinions to get the basis for a guess as to how he will vote in the five school segregation cases which are now set for reargument December 7, let's look at his two most recent opinions in civil rights cases.

One of those involved an Illinois group live Louis Lautier law, which was attacked in the Supreme Court as violating freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed as against the States by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Joseph Beauharnais was president of the White Circle League of America, Inc., an organization which opposed amalgamation and favored racial segregation. At a meeting on January 6, 1950, he passed out bundles of leaflets and other literature to volunteers for distribution on downtown Chicago streets. The leaflets were distributed the next day in accordance with his plans and instructions.

Beauharnais was convicted upon information in the Municipal Court of Chicago of violating the group libel law. The information, in the terms of the statute, charged that Beauharnais had exhibited in public places leaflets which portrayed the depravity, criminality, unchastity or lack of virtue of colored people and exposed them to contempt, derision, or obloquy.

The leaflet was a petition calling on the Mayor and City Council of Chicago 'to halt the further encroachment, harassment and invasion of white people, their property, neighborhoods and persons by the Negro.'

It also called for a 'union of self respecting white people in Chicago to unite,' and added that 'If persuasion and the need to prevent the white race from becoming mongrelized by the Negro will not unite us, then the aggressions... rapes, robberies, knives, guns and marijuana of

free, ordered life in a metropolitan, polyglot community.'

"From the murder of the abolitionist Lovejoy in 1837 to the Cicero riots in 1951, Illinois has been the scene of exacerbated tension between races, often flaring into violence and destruction. In many of these outbreaks, utterances of the character here in question, so the Illinois legislature could conclude, played a significant part.

Justice Frankfurter delivered the majority opinion. Justice Hugo L. Black wrote a dissenting opinion, in which Justice William O. Douglas joined. Justice Black concluded his dissent with the warning that—

"If there be minority groups who hail this holding as their victory, they might consider the possible relevancy of this anecdotal remark:

"Another such victory and I am undone."

Justice Douglas also wrote a dissenting opinion, in which he said:

"Today a white man stands convicted for protesting in unseemly language against our decisions invalidating restrictive covenants. Tomorrow a Negro will be hailed before a court for denouncing lynch law in heated terms."

Justice Robert H. Jackson and Justice Stanley F. Jackson each wrote a dissenting opinion, with Justice Douglas joining in the Reed dissent.

In the majority opinion Justice Frankfurter declared that there was no warrant in the Constitution for denying to Illinois the power to pass its group libel law. The finding that the law is not constitutionally objectionable, he explained, 'carries no implication of approval of the wisdom of the legislation or its efficacy.'

Before reaching this conclusion, he said:

"... if an utterance directed at an individual may be the subject of criminal sanctions, we cannot deny to a State power to punish the same utterance directed at a defined group, unless we can say that this is a wilful and purposeless restriction unrelated to the peace and well-being of the State."

"Illinois did not have to look beyond her own borders or await the tragic experience of the last three decades to conclude that wilful purveyors of falsehood concerning racial and religious groups promote strife and tend powerfully to obstruct the manifold adjustments required for

After their sentences of death were approved by President Truman and all remedies exhausted under the Articles of War for review of their convictions, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed on their behalf petitions for writs of habeas corpus in the District Court for the District of Columbia.

The petitions were dismissed. By a 2-to-1 decision, the United States Court of Appeals upheld the judgment of the District Court. The Supreme Court granted a review because the case posed important questions concerning the power of a civil court to view the judgment of a martial in a habeas corpus proceeding.

Four opinions were written in this case. Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson announced the judgment of the court. Only three judges concurred in Chief Justice Vinson's opinion that federal civil courts have limited functions in determining whether the military have dealt fully and fairly with the allegations raised in an application for habeas corpus.

Justice Jackson concurred in the result only. Justice Sherman Minton wrote an opinion concurring in the affirmance of the judgment. Justice Douglas wrote a dissenting opinion that he thought Burns and Dennis were entitled to a judicial hearing on the circumstances surrounding their confessions. Justice Black joined in this dissent.

Justice Frankfurter wrote a separate opinion, in which he differed with both the judgment of the court and the dissenting views.

"I cannot assume the responsibility, where life is at stake, of concurring in the judgment of the Court," he said. "Equally, however, I would not feel justified in reversing the judgment. My duty, as I see it, is to resolve the dilemma by doing neither."

He concluded that "issues of far-reaching import" had not been explored "in all their significance" and he believed the "case should be set down for re-argument."

The other case, in which the court split almost as badly as it did in the Beauharnais' case, was that of Robert W. Burns and Herman P. Dennis, Jr., two United States airmen, who were convicted by courts-martial of murder and rape of Ruth Farnsworth, a Navy civilian clerk on the Island of Guam.

After their sentences of death

Negro (Louis Lautier)

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Is integration a Commie line?

SENATOR WILLIAM E. JENNER of Indiana, chairman of the Senate Internal Security Investigating subcommittee, recently released the testimony of Mrs. Minna A. Abernethy, whose husband, Milton A. Abernethy, operates a bookshop in Chapel Hill, N.C., where the University of North Carolina is located.

The purpose of calling her as a witness was to show that she and her mate had permitted the Communist party to use the rear of their book store for storing and operating a printing press, paid for by J. Peters, Comintern agent in the United States, and operated by two Communists.

A series of questions asked by Richard Arens, special counsel for the subcommittee, hints that advocating the admission of colored students to "white" state supported universities is the Communist party line.

Integration Communist?

"Did you ever participate in a movement in North Carolina, advocating that the University of North Carolina should accept colored students?" Arens asked.

"What do you mean by movement?" Mrs. Abernethy countered.

"What have you done in advocating that the University of North Carolina should accept colored students?" Arens asked.

"That is a very general question," Mrs. Abernethy said. "I don't understand it."

"Have you done anything at any time to advocate the acceptance by the University of North Carolina of colored students?" Arens asked.

"I can't, off hand, think what I have done," replied Mrs. Abernethy.

"As a matter of fact, you have been directed by the Communist party to do just that in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, have you not?"

"Is that a question?" Mrs. Abernethy asked.

"Yes, that is the question."

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

31a *Front page*
By Louis Lautier

Powell Visits White House

REPRESENTATIVE ADAM C. POWELL (D., N.Y.) is again enjoying cordial relations with the White House.

During the Truman administration, Mr. Powell was on the White House black-list because he called Mrs. Truman the "last lady of the land."

Mr. Powell burned to a crisp when Mrs. Truman accepted an invitation from the snooty DAR to attend a tea in her honor at the Sulgrave Club here after the DAR had refused permission for Miss Hazel Scott (Mrs. Adam Powell in private life) to give a concert in Constitution Hall. At the time, the DAR had a rule barring colored artists from appearing on the stage of their hall.

So, Mr. Powell made a speech in which he referred to Mrs. Truman in uncomplimentary terms. Mr. Truman retaliated by not inviting Mr. Powell to White House social affairs during the remainder of his administration.

Powell Back In White House

Since he has been in office, President Eisenhower has been inviting members of Congress to have luncheon with him. The other day Mr. Powell was one of those who attended one of the stag luncheons.

After the luncheon, he and Mr. Eisenhower engaged in a brief animated conversation. It was about the conditions of Puerto Ricans in New York City.

Mr. Eisenhower asked Mr. Powell to send him a one-page memo on the subject. Mr. Powell did so, and included a "thank you" note.

"Kindly accept my sincere thanks for the luncheon and, more than that, for the good company," Mr. Powell wrote.

On the day before the Powell visit, Representative William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.), who had entree to the White House during the Truman administration through both the front and side doors, was one of the luncheon guests. Dawson said he enjoyed it.

Photographers Turned Down

Six national winners of 4-H club awards were presented to President Eisenhower last week. He posed with them for the photographers with two of them presenting him gifts, but he rebelled at the double handshake, which Mr. Truman used to do



Mr. Lautier

for the photographers. Eisenhower was where a distinction of race or willing to shake hands with one at a time color is made in the admission of students, but the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be in compliance with the provisions of this act if the funds received in such State or Territory be equitably divided."

All of the 4-H club winners were white. The 4-H clubs is one of the activities still carried on by the Federal Government on a racially-segregated basis. They are sponsored by the Extension Service of the Agriculture Department.

The Civil Service list of patronage jobs is now in print. It includes the almost forgotten position of Register of the Treasury once filled by such men as James C. Napier of Nashville (Tennessee) and Bishop William T. Vernon of Kansas.

If anyone is interested, the salary of the Register of the Treasury is \$9,600 a year. The Assistant Register gets \$8,300. No colored man has been appointed Register of the Treasury since the Taft Administration. The Register and the Assistant Register serve at the pleasure of the President.

Salaries Of Open Jobs

Incidentally, the five Representatives and the five Alternate Representatives to the United Nations General Assembly are paid at the rate of \$17,500 a year each when actually employed.

The Governor of the Virgin Islands gets \$15,000 a year. The United States Attorney for the Virgin Islands gets \$7,040. The present incumbent was appointed July 11, 1951, and his term of office runs for four years.

The Ambassador to Haiti gets between \$15,000 and \$25,000 a year, the political officer, \$9,130; the administrative officer, \$5,313, and two economic officers, \$5,313 each.

The Ambassador to Liberia gets between \$15,000 and \$25,000, the political officer, \$9,130, and the economic officer, \$5,313.

Capitol Spot light

LOUIS LAUTIER
ENPA STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON. — If there were any doubt about the inequality of educational opportunity for colored and white students in segregated institutions, comparative income of land-grant institutions for colored and white students would completely dispel that doubt.

The land-grant colleges and universities are those institutions which receive federal aid under the Morrill (land grant) Acts of 1862 and 1890. They are so called because the original law granted public lands to each state for the support of at least one college teaching

such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts.

The Land Grant Act of 1890 provided that "no money shall be paid under [the] act to any state or territory for the support and maintenance of a college

Negro (LOUIS LAUTIER)

from county, city or district governments, \$22,648 in endowment earnings, \$186,314 from private gifts or grants, \$708,254 from sales and services of organized activities, \$36,933 from miscellaneous sources, \$1,493 986 from auxiliary enterprises, \$13,639 for non-educational purposes.

The total income of Fort Valley State college, the Georgia land-grant institution for colored students, had a total income of \$2,017,145. Of that sum, \$72,432 came from student fees, \$59,849 from the VA for tuition and fees, \$36,661 from supplementary Federal land-grant appropriations, \$340,000 from the State, \$3,348 from county, city or district governments, \$1,255 from endowment earnings, \$458 from miscellaneous sources, and \$129,291 from auxiliary enterprises.

Fort Valley State college received no Federal funds for an agricultural experiment station grant or contractual amounts and extension work, no Federal for research, and no other Federal grants.

The Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges has wrestled with the problem of inequitable sharing in federal funds, and even have threatened litigation, but the discrimination continues. Apparently nothing will change the inequities but a decision from the United States Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in public education at all levels.

This means that the states are appropriating less proportionately for the education of colored students in colored land-grant colleges than they are providing for the education of white students in the white land-grant institutions, although, theoretically, the per capital cost should be higher in the colored land-grant colleges because of smaller enrollments.

Take the state of Georgia, for example. The total income of the University of Georgia in the school year 1950-51 was \$8,251,535. Of that amount, \$972,387 was received from student fees, \$1,812,702 from the Veterans' Administration for tuition and fees, \$68,990 in supplementary land-grant funds, \$1,683,475 in federal funds for an experiment station and agricultural extension work, \$26,843 in federal grants or contractual amounts for research, and \$30,760 in other federal grants.

From other sources the University of Georgia received \$2,548,526 from the State, \$117,703



Louis Lautier

NEWS IN TABLOID

31a Negro
By Cliff W. Mackay

Editor, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers

The Jobs Are Coming—Late

WARNINGED THAT colored voters could easily make them lose control of Congress next year, Republicans have suddenly broken out with a rash of appointments. Who

ever was bottling these jobs up has been dynamited out of the way. Eisenhower is feverishly trying to make up for lost time. From an attitude of complete indifference about colored lamments, the GOP has shifted into high gear to silence the wailings.

Thus far these nominations have left most of us cold. For one thing, they come too late. Last spring they would have had a dramatic effect. In mid-summer, after all the secretary and assistant secretaryships plus the top posts have been filled, they only cause us to yawn. Secondly, the fact that most of these appointments consist of a colored Republican replacing a colored Democrat is not likely to make many persons clap their hands, jump up in the air and shout, 'goody, goody.'

Here's the rundown: Mrs. Locker, Cincinnati, becomes Liberian ambassador replacing Edward Dudley, NYC; Mrs. Jane Spaulding, Charleston, W. Va., to Health, Education and Welfare, replacing Mrs. Anne Hedgeman, Washington; and Roberta Church, Memphis, to Labor, replacing Mrs. Tomasina Norford, NYC. At week's end, Ike came through with one of the "many new jobs" promised during the campaign. Scovel Richardson, law dean at Lincoln (Mo.) U., was named to the Federal Parole Board at \$11,000 a year.

The same conjecture boys who had Eisenhower at various times naming Mrs. Jessie Vahn, Hobson Reynolds and the Rev. A. J. Carey as Haitian ambassadorship, were back in business again. They predicted E. Frederic Morrow would take Elmer Lancaster's desk in Commerce; John Silvers occupying James Evans' office in the Pentagon and Mrs. Jessie Vann (what again?) being named a delegate to the UN. Further they had Fred Toomer, Atlanta, being named register of the treasury and Vernon Greene, Baltimore, becoming legal counsel to Postmaster General Arthur Summer-

Negro (Cliff W. Mackay)

field. Ho! Hum! Don't say we didn't tell you.

Governor Dewey, playing it coy, has placed Elmer A. Carter on the ticket as GOP candidate for Manhattan borough president. A member of the State Commission Against Discrimination, he's a Democrat. Rev. J. Russell Brown, of Kansas City, has been named on Kansas' new toothless FEPC. Well-oiled Texas Dixiecrats have their guns trained on Oveta Culp Hobby, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. She plans to run for governor of Texas. But they'll never forgive her for making that Ohio Wesleyan commencement address in which she cited the high cost of discrimination and lambasted segregation.



Mr. Mackay

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DOPE 'N' DATA

by
LOUIS E. MARTIN

Bishop Charles M. Grace, better known as Daddy Grace, has purchased the El Dorado apartment building at 300 Central Park West in New York City. The thirty-odd story structure is supposed to be the tallest apartment building in the world.

A news release from the Bishop on the purchase includes the following statement: "Such a prodigious achievement is possible for only one man to accomplish—Bishop Charles M. Grace, affectionately referred to by his many thousands of followers as Sweet Daddy Grace."

The El Dorado has 216 apartments with 1310 rooms and 675 baths and 13 elevators. Its twin towers are capped with radars that guide planes to and from La Guardia airport at night and the front yard of this fabulous house is Central Park.

Bishop Daddy Grace now has the edge on Father Divine as far as real estate in New York City is concerned. Between the Bishop and the Father, there must be a half a billion dollars worth of property on the eastern seaboard and all of it in neighborhoods where the brother dared not set foot a decade or so ago.

This is the age of prophets indeed. Such characters as Prophet Jones in Detroit, Bishop Grace in New York, Father Divine in Philadelphia, etc., are getting their hands on great amounts of capital which they invariably sink in real estate.

Twenty years ago all such big realty deals as were possible under restrictive covenants were usually made by numbers men. The number bankers amassed the big capital in our cities then and they were heavy investors in land and housing. This era has been coming to a close with the in-

creasing activity of the agents of the Bureau of the Internal Revenue.

As the number bankers fell by the wayside, the prophets have arisen to take their places in the world of colored finance. The religious offerings, of course, are tax free and so is most of the property the prophets buy.

Whatever channel the capital chooses to run in, whether through digit kings or prophets, it is being used more wisely than one would at first suspect. Housing is a prime need of the brother and the barriers that we face in the housing field are still enormous despite the fall of the restrictive covenants.

The white folks have spent fortunes all over the country in an effort to find some sanctuary away from the house hunting brother. In the nation's capital, for instance, the majority of the children in the public schools are colored. The whites are deserting Washington for the suburbs in the hope that they can get away from colored neighbors.

This same development is more or less true in all of our major cities. Now that the prophets are operating in the realty field, it appears that the time is coming when there will be no lily-white precincts left.

Money is no barrier to the brother today. He has enjoyed a greater measure of prosperity in the last decade than at any time in history. Millions of dollars, apparently, have been finding their way into the coffers of real estate men who will sell anything at the right price regardless of their concern over keeping neighborhoods white.

Bishop Daddy Grace or Sweet Daddy Grace owns several enormous pieces of property which Negroes could not acquire a few years ago and did not have the money to buy even if they had the opportunity. In one of his buildings on Edgecombe avenue there live some of the most famous race leaders in the country. They are famous but out of pocket. The Bishop may be infamous but he has the dough.

The white supremacists who have given their lives to the cause of keeping the brother in his place must be disillusioned by the tide of events today. The brother is living next door and if given

Negro (LOUIS E. MARTIN)

half a chance, he would make a fairs, must tell him that he talks that they are truly tragic figures, good neighbor. As Joe Louis said and acts like a fool with respect spitting against the wind. Byrnes of an opponent, "he can run but to the colored citizen he can't hide." So it is with the bigoted white. He can't hide anymore.

DOPE 'N' DATA

by
LOUIS E. MARTIN

A couple of old newspaper friends and I talked far into the night recently about the mind and soul of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

We had just read that Byrnes had warned Eisenhower that the farm program was endangered because the new contracts for Government crop loans prohibited the banks which handle the loans from discriminating against job seekers because of race.

This guy Byrnes never missed a bet. Whenever a brother raises his head, he is poised and ready to throw a brick at it.

The old Carolina codger is supposed to be smart and his vast experience in government and in international relations all point to the fact that he is either well qualified or he has fooled some of the biggest men in modern history, including Roosevelt, and Eisenhower.

Recently made him his top assistant during the war, Truman tried him out as Secretary of State and now Eisenhower gave him a plum and put him on the U. S. delegation to the United Nations. Of course, Truman gave him the boot. Harry couldn't stand him and the feeling was probably mutual.

The pronouncements of Byrnes on the race issue are so outrageous that one wonders how a man who is insane on one issue can be sensible about any other.

I believe something is wrong with the soul of Jimmy Byrnes for his mind, nurtured by widespread experiences in public af-

fects, must tell him that he talks that they are truly tragic figures, good neighbor. As Joe Louis said and acts like a fool with respect spitting against the wind. Byrnes must feel uncomfortable in his new job at the United Nations. He knows that the vast majority of his colleagues there look upon him as a symbol of the dead Dixie past and they are talking about him behind his back.

My newspaper cronies and I were reluctant to believe that he was born that way. Therefore we were sure that some experience unhinged his mind. The one big incident which embittered Byrnes' very soul was, we concluded, the big blow that Negroes gave to his presidential ambitions.

When Byrnes' name was being kicked around by the Democrats as that of a man with presidential qualifications, the party bosses quickly discovered that the Negro leadership was solidly against a Southerner and particularly against Byrnes.

Here was an ambitious white man who was supposed to have the money bags of his friend, Bernard Baruch, at his disposal and the biggest obstacle to his success was the Negro vote. Here was a Southerner who had to give an end to segregation in the public school system of the United States they were fortified by the lowly brother whom he had considered a servant and a lackey possession of a "secret weapon." had barred the White House door.

The eminent justices of the Supreme Court and John W. Davis, of his generation, Byrnes never considered that the day would ever come in his life time when it would be smart politics to have the respect of Negroes.

None of those old timers really

appreciated the dynamic quality of this thing we call democracy. Frankly, they not only played Negroes cheap but they played America cheap.

Today, Southern Negroes are giving Byrnes and his crowd nightmares. This is important because in the past most Southern whites blamed all civil rights talk on so-called radical brothers from the North. Now Byrnes' has to worry about his colored neighbors, fellow Carolinians.

His colored neighbors not only have the vote but they have gone to the United States Supreme court in an effort to scrap Jim Crow education. Byrnes could not carry South Carolina for Ike because of his colored neighbors. I don't believe he is going to like the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court on those education cases either.

I used to get hot under the collar when guys like Byrnes shot off their mouths. Now we all know

DOPE Defender DATA Chicago Ill. LOUISE MARTIN 12-12-1953

propose the mass praying campaign. He knows that not even Jimmy Byrnes nor Talmadge want to go to hell whether it is segregated down there or not. He knows also that they do not want millions of Negroes giving them a prayerful push in that direction. There is, of course, a very direct connection between our religion and the law. In the first place, most of our laws have

Some of the Divine福音 are also saying that the was responsible for the new strike which blanked out the news for over a week in New York. gave favorable reviews to the about Father Divine which condemned. It is true that Thurgood Marshall believes in the efficacy of prayer. It is also true that the NAACP and its friends have been working on this special instrument which they hope will help deliver the children of Ham from the humiliating life of second class citizens. This "secret weapon" is prayer.

Well, for several weeks the NAACP and its friends have been working on this special instrument which they hope will help deliver the children of Ham from the humiliating life of second class citizens. This "secret weapon" is prayer.

For weeks a campaign of prayer has been underway and appeals went forth to all church groups to step up the praying for the lost souls of all the white folks who believe in segregation. Although prayers were inadmissible in the court, the Supreme Court justices and the opposing council have been mentioned in millions of prayers and as one devout sister reported, "the justices are going to have a hard time getting by God if they don't rule right." The cynical may laugh but it has been reliably established that at the thought of millions of colored folks praying away for their after an altercation with a cop around Harlem, the traffic experts believe in God with their behavior. Thus just as the Father said he would, Incidentally, Father Divine put a curse of the New Jersey Turnpike on that

most white folks have consciences who are scared of Father Divine and when it comes to their treatment of the colored brothers, Father Divine the short end of the stick in a law suit and a few days later the judge dropped dead. Thus just as the Father said he would, Incidentally, Father Divine put a curse of the New Jersey Turnpike on that

around New York city it is reported have been worried sick ever since and, although he diligently pursues every legal fact to its last place, he was the first to grow out of our Christian resting place, he was the first to

expressway. In New York city it is reported by all the traffic deaths on that there are hundreds of judges sorry souls.

cepts of what is right and what is wrong. Our sense of justice is based on Christian morality and the Ten Commandments are reflected in the statute books.

It is a historical fact that when the early white Americans agreed that Negro slaves have souls and therefore it was incumbent upon them to save these colored souls, the first step toward emancipation and freedom was taken.

After the slaves became Christians, the argument developed that it was a sin before God to enslave a Christian. Thus it was the God started the freedom train on its way.

In this heathen age, we are apt to overlook force of religion in our culture and its decisive role in our history. Both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, the blue prints for our democracy, owe their very substance to the moral and religious convictions of the founding fathers.

Mr. Marshall and his aides understand these facts. They have now done their best in the courts and all of us who don't know any law can at least pray. We can make sure that these wicked segregationists, who may get by the Supreme Court justices, will nevertheless have a hard time getting by God. To repeat, brothers and sisters, let us pray.

MAYS

In Order to Save Its Own Soul, the Church Must End All Forms of Segregation in Worship

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

LAST week I mentioned briefly the fact that there is a sign in the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay stating that "South Africans are not admitted." This sign is the way the Indians are resenting what the Malan Government is doing to

the Indians in South Africa. The Apartheid law in South Africa applies to the Bantus, the Indians and the colored people. So South Africa is a hot issue in India.

During our meeting of the General Committee of the World Council of Churches in Lucknow several distinguished Indian leaders addressed us. Among them were the Governor of Lucknow, Prime Minister Nehru, Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, and the Vice President of India, Doctor Radhakrishnan.

All four of them made special reference to the racial situation in South Africa. In a press conference which I had with nine Indian reporters South Africa was in the center of the discussion.

THE INDIAN members of the Central Committee insisted that the committee condemn strongly Malan's racial policies. They said if we didn't take a stand against what was happening in South Africa, it would have been better if the Central Committee had not come to Asia. The eyes of India are upon South Africa.

The General Secretary, Dr. Visser T Hooft, had a report to make to the Central Committee on his recent visit to South Africa. It was an excellent

analysis of the church and race in South Africa. But the first resolutions presented to the committee on his visit were weak and did not satisfy those of us who are convinced that the World Council of Churches must speak firmly to the churches of South Africa. There was plenty support for a strong resolution: Americans, Indians, and Englishmen. So the weak resolutions were promptly strengthened. Among the six resolutions adopted, I shall record only the last three. They are:

1. "The Central Committee gives encouragement to those in South Africa and elsewhere who are laboring for a solution of the racial problem in keeping with the Christian Gospel, and calls upon all Christians to uphold them in thought, prayer and acts of reconciliation.

2. "The Central Committee would use this opportunity to express its strong conviction that the first and foremost contribution which the churches everywhere can and must make to the solution of the race problem is to manifest in their own life that in Christ all racial division is overcome and that any policy of enforced segregation in any aspects of church life is incompatible with the very nature of the Church of Christ.

3. "The Central Committee holding strongly the convictions expressed by the First Assembly, affirms that all political, social, economic discriminations based on the grounds of race, wherever they may exist, are contrary to the will of God as expressed in the Christian Gospel. Recognizing that existing racial discriminations are increasing tension and bitterness in various parts of the world, the committee calls upon the member churches to engage in the Christian Ministry of reconciliation and to do all in their power to end such discrimination wherever it exists."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted. They are not as strong as some would have liked but they do speak firmly to the churches indicating their Christian duty and responsibility. One member of my press conference wanted South Afri-

ca to be torn to bits in the resolution.

We are face to face again with the brute fact—the Christian Church, must in order to save its own soul, end all forms of segregation in its worship and membership. When it does that it will be in a position to speak with power to the social and economic order. Until then does it has no prophetic voice to utter to the secular world.

A special commission is working on the race problem in preparation for the Second Assembly of the World Council which will convene at Northwestern University, in Evanston, August, 1954. In the meantime South Africa grows worse if racial hatred.

MAYS

He Gives Flowers To the Living; The J. W. Dobbses Are 'Exceptional'

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

LET US give flowers to the living. Right here in Georgia an unusual family has been reared.

Mr. and Mrs. John Wesley Dobbs are the parents of six girls and all six have graduated from Spelman College. All six girls graduated from Spelman during the administration of Miss Florence M. Read.

Mr. Dobbs was born near Marietta, Ga., and was reared on his grandfather's farm until he was nine years old, at which time his widowed mother took him to Savannah.

He was graduated from Morehouse College in 1901. In 1905 he entered the railway mail service and served in that capacity for thirty years. Since 1932, he has served as Grand Master of the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge of Georgia. He is fluent and eloquent in speech.



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He is a tower of strength in the community.

In 1906, Mr. Dobbs married Irene Thompson of Columbus, Miss. Mrs. Dobbs was graduated from a private Methodist Academy in Columbus.

IT ISN'T often that six people in one family go through college. Some usually drop by the way. But not so with the Dobbs sisters. And make no mistake, this all happened because Mr. and Mrs. John Wesley Dobbs were instilling in their children from birth high ideals and noble principles.

Irene Dobbs was graduated from Spelman in 1929. She is Mrs. Maynard Jackson, the wife of the Rev. Maynard Jackson of the Friendship Baptist Church, Atlanta.

Mrs. Jackson has studied at Middlebury College, the University of Chicago, Grenoble University in France, and holds the Certificate d'études Supérieures, Toulouse, France, and Diplôme de Professeur de Français à l'étranger, l'Université de Toulouse.

She has taught at Clark College and is now teacher of French at Spelman. She is the mother of six children.

WILLIE JULIET Dobbs was graduated from Spelman in 1931. She is Mrs. Benjamin A. Blackburn. She studied at the University of Chicago and holds an A. M. degree in literature from Atlanta University.

She has taught at the State College in Pine Bluff, Ark., and is at present a teacher of college English and chairman of the language arts area at Jackson College, Jackson, Miss. Mrs. Blackburn has two children.

Millie Doris Dobbs was graduated from Spelman in 1933. She is Mrs. Robert H. Jordan. She holds an A. M. degree from Teacher's College, Columbia University. Mrs. Jordan has taught at Booker Washington High School in Atlanta, Ga.; Morris Brown College, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff; Spelman College and at present is teaching at Tennessee State University.

She is the mother of three children.

Josephine Upneira Dobbs graduated from Spelman in 1937. She is Mrs. William A. Clement. She received the M. A. degree in Home Economics from Teachers College, Columbia University.

She has taught at Morris Brown College, Savannah State College and now she is a teacher in the home economics department of the North Carolina State College, Durham. She has four children.

Mattiwilda Dobbs was graduated from Spelman in 1946. She is now Donna Luis Rodriguez Garcia de La Piedra. She earned the M. A. degree in Spanish from Teacher's College, Columbia University, in 1948. She is a renowned artist.

In 1947 she won the Marian Anderson Award, in 1949 she won a scholarship to study

opera at the Berkshire Music Center in Lenox, Mass.; she is a student of Madam Lotte Leonard of New York, received scholarship to the opera department, the Mannes School of Music, New York; took a principal part in "The Barrier" in 1950, awarded one of the first Opportunity Fellowships by the John Hay Whitney Foundation to study in New York and Paris, won first prize in singing contest in Switzerland, made her debut as an opera singer in 1953 and has toured Europe and America.

JUNE SELENA Dobbs was graduated from Spelman in 1948 and holds an A. M. degree from Teacher's College, Columbia University. She has been research assistant at Fisk and teaches in the Tennessee State College.

She has traveled with her sister, Mattiwilda, in Europe. Only two exceptional people could produce so many outstanding children. My hat's off to the Dobbses.

I am of the opinion that no man on the Atlanta School Board is better qualified than Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and it may be that his academic background and experience are above most of those now on the board. The Board of Education position is a city-wide election and Mr. Clement had to receive many white votes to be elected.

ONE OF the most significant phases of this campaign was the attempt to smear

MAYS

Clement Wins Atlanta Vote Despite Efforts Of Certain Opponents To 'Tag' Him as 'Red'

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

WHEN A. T. Walden, Miles G. Amos and Frederick Harris decided to run for places on the city's Executive Committee, the present Executive Committee sought to bar Negroes from running by deciding not to have an election of Executive Committee members in this election.

The Negroes took the committee to court and the court ruled that the election had to be held. So this effort to keep Negroes from membership on the Executive Committee was blocked. As a result, A. T. Walden went unopposed and was elected to membership on the Executive Committee in the May 13 election.

Miles G. Amos defeated Frederick Harris. This election brings two Negro members to the Executive Committee, perhaps the first time in Atlanta's history.

I am of the opinion that no man on the Atlanta School Board is better qualified than Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and it may be that his academic background and experience are above most of those now on the board. The Board of Education position is a city-wide election and Mr. Clement had to receive many white votes to be elected.

ONE OF the most significant phases of this campaign was the attempt to smear



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President Clement.

The Executive Committee which qualifies all candidates, had President Clement to answer charges that he had been connected with Communist-front organizations.

These charges were brought up less than forty-eight hours before the voting began. They had had the data in hand since April 15 and had had other material since May 2 or 3. But to bring the charges almost on the eve of the election seems to prove that it was a dirty move to disqualify Clement.

Attorney Walden represented Clement magnificently and Clement made an excellent defense of his position as a loyal American. The committee voted finally, five to four, to drop the charges against Clement. Several on the committee wanted to disqualify him but they feared a suit. Walden's penetrating questions made them know that they would have a suit on their hand if they disqualify Clement on false charges of communism.

ALTHOUGH THE Atlanta Journal and Constitution did support President Clement for a place on the Board of Education, both papers condemned the efforts of certain members of the Executive Committee to smear President Clement.

The Constitution headed its editorial thus: "Attack on Clement Is Dirty Politics." It goes on to say, "since it was from the beginning, 'dirty politics' of the worst sort, we can only rejoice with all fair-minded persons everywhere that the City Executive Committee backed down and failed to carry out the purpose announced by one of its members — to disqualify Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, candidate for the Board of Education, on a 'leftist' complaint.

"Public decency owes a debt to those who stood for the principles of fair play and Americanism at its best . . . Dr. Clement is a conservative man, but a progressive educator . . . In fact, we believe that if Dr. Clement were not a Negro he would not now be undergoing this ordeal."

Rufus Clement was elected a member of the Atlanta Board of Education with a commanding lead over J. H. Lander.

WALDEN, UNOPPOSED, and Amos, who beat Harris, were elected to the Executive Committee. It is significant because there was an attempt to smear Clement with the charges of un-Americanism.

The Atlanta people knew the charges were false and said so by their votes. It is also significant because a large number of white Atlantans wanted to see Negroes represented on the Board of Education. It often happens that the people are far in advance of many of their conservative leaders.

It proves further that prejudice on the basis of race is not always as deep as we think it is. Congratulations to Atlanta and to Walden, Amos and Clement.

All this means that when Negroes run for political office we should run only the best. These men are highly qualified.

MAYS

The 'Deep South' Is 'Readier' Than We Think; All We Need Is Leadership

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

WHEN the press sought an expression from J. H. Landers whom Rufus Clement beat by 8,342 votes for membership on the Atlanta School Board, Landers said, "I didn't think the people were ready for this."

I reply by saying, "The people are more ready than we think." My theme song is that it is the leadership and not the people that block progress. On the whole the people will follow good leaders and, sorry to say, they will follow bad leaders. Hitler is proof of the latter.

As previously stated, nobody down here in this deep Southern city is disturbed because a Negro is on the School Board and nobody is disturbed because two Negroes are on the city's Executive Committee.



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BUT SUPPOSE the Mayor of the city had attempted to inflame the people! Suppose the press had attempted to inflame the people! Suppose the radio had sought to stir up the people!

Suppose ministers had condemned the participation of Negroes in politics! If these things had happened Clement, Walden and Amos might have been defeated.

Instead the leadership took it calmly and after the three Negroes were elected, the press, the radio, and leaders in every walk of life took it in its stride. Not only that but white Atlanta is proud of it: my white friends are shouting the victory as vociferously as Negroes.

Most of us are fooled. We don't think the people are ready for the right thing. The people are "readier" than we think.

MANY DIDN'T think the people were ready for the curtain to go down in dining cars. They were ready. Many able leaders said in 1946 the people were not ready for Negroes to vote. They were ready. Seven years after Negroes in Atlanta are elected to political office,

Many said the people were not ready for no-segregation in interstate travel. But every day Negroes ride unsegregated from New York into the deep South. The people are ready. Of course it was argued the people weren't ready for Negroes to attend Southern universities. The weak-hearted were wrong.

Southern faculties and students were ready. The people are "readier" than we think.

The people need sane courageous leadership, that's all. If the leaders had the courage to say to the people, let us within five years remove all crippling circumscriptions based on race, they would go in five years.

If the preachers preached it from their pulpits, if the professors taught it in their classrooms, if the politicians urged it in their campaigns, if the editors wrote it in their editorials, if the Mayors, Governors and Senators proclaimed it, and if the employers said to their employees we are going to hire on ability and not on race, we would have all crippling restrictions based on race removed in five years time.

IF THIS is too short, let us

make it ten years. The people will follow. The fear, the prejudice, the hatred and ill will persists in our nation because the leaders won't lead.

The masses of the people do nothing but follow.

Most of us know what is right and true. It isn't so that we do through ignorance. We know what is right in most instances. But we are afraid to do what we know is noble and true. And it is the responsibility of our leaders to free people of their fears and let them become free men and free women.

It all means though that Negroes more and more must take the initiative in breaking new ground. After what seems to be a strong opposition is nothing but a straw man.

The efforts of the Executive Committee to block Walden and Amos and to smear Clement were weak efforts. But if they had not had the courage to persevere, victory would not have come and when they did, white people stood up and applauded. More people would do right than we think if given a chance.

MAYS

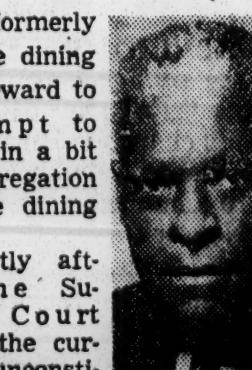
Vignettes on Rails:
Through the South
On the Trains via
Pullman and Daycoach

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

RECENTLY, I have been traveling through Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and other Southern states, observant and interested in what I see.

It is gratifying to note that there is less tendency now than formerly for the dining car steward to attempt to maintain a bit of segregation on the dining cars.

Shortly after the Supreme Court ruled the curtain unconstitutional, I noted that several stewards sat Negroes at the end tables and not at the tables located in the center of



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the dining car. Some of them still try it, but not as many as there used to be. Of course, a passenger doesn't have to accept an end table, if there are other vacant tables available.

There are any number of stewards who seat Negroes as they seat other passengers irrespective of race.

THERE IS another practice on the part of some stewards and that is, not to seat a Negro at a table with white passengers.

If there is someone at every table and Negroes are at a certain table, the tendency is to seat Negroes with Negroes. Here again, all stewards do not do this. They seat passengers, Negroes and whites, at the most convenient tables located near the point of entrance. They seat white passengers at tables with Negroes and Negro passengers at tables with whites.

The interesting thing is I have seldom seen any objections on the part of a white passenger when a Negro was seated at his table.

But there are still some timid stewards. If all the tables have white passengers seated at them, though there are vacancies at some of the tables, some stewards get exceedingly busy when a Negro passenger enters.

They pretend not to see him. They are afraid to seat a Negro at a table with a white person. But, if the Negro goes on and seats himself, the steward does not object and will give him the check on which he is to write his order.

I RODE with one of those timid stewards last week. White passengers were seated at every table. But there were many vacancies.

The diner was part lounge car. He told me politely to have a seat in the lounge and that he would serve me shortly. He dared not send me away and dared not refuse me. When I ignored his admonition and seated myself, he came immediately to give me my check. A Texas was my table-mate and we chatted pleasantly throughout our meals.

When timid stewards see that the passengers as a rule do not object, they will get courage.

One ought to ride day coach once in a while in order to

know what is going on. From Memphis to Birmingham recently, I rode the day coach. I was unable to get a Pullman seat out of Memphis, so when Pullman space became available I was comfortably seated in a day coach, air-conditioned, reclining chairs.

For day riding, it was more restful than Pullman—so I decided to ride day coach into Atlanta. From Memphis to Birmingham, the head coach had only Negroes in it.

THE ONE next to it, where I was directed to go by the porter, had Negro and white passengers in it. We rode unsegregated into Birmingham.

At Birmingham we had to move back to another coach since two coaches were cut out in Birmingham. This coach had white passengers only.

But, almost immediately after we moved into this coach, the conductor came through and made the white passengers move out of the coach where the Negroes had come and where whites had been sitting from Memphis, and some from Kansas City.

The white passengers seemed to move unwillingly. I am sure had the conductor not interfered, those white passengers would have ridden from Birmingham to Atlanta in the unsegregated coach.

Negroes and whites had ridden unsegregated from Memphis to Birmingham. Why not from Birmingham to Atlanta? It doesn't make sense.

MAYS

Courier
Cites His Admonitions
Of Yesteryear With
Regards to the Korean
War's Truce Negotiations
Pittsburgh, Pa.
By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

WHEN the United Nations army drove the North Koreans across the 38th Parallel the first time, I stood virtually alone in saying that MacArthur should have stopped there and called for a truce.

My articles in the Courier under dates of Oct. 21, 1950; Dec. 30, 1950; Jan. 27, 1951; Mar. 31, 1951; May, 19, 1951; July 15, 1951, and Sept. 1, 1951, serve to prove that I took that position.

In those articles I argued that if our object was to repel aggression, that object was achieved when we drove the invaders out of South Korea.

To stop aggression was the purpose announced by President Truman when our army went to the defense of South Korea. But when we drove the invaders back we added another objective—to unify Korea.

WE DIDN'T stop at the 38th Parallel and as a result we were driven back two or more times.

In crossing the 38th Parallel we drove so close to Manchuria that we gave China an excuse to enter the war. Whether we admit it or not, the United Nations Army lost prestige in being driven back across the 38th Parallel again and again.

There has been no decisive victory on the battlefield. We are doing in 1953 what we should have done in 1950. Time will tell if the present Administration has justified the position I took.

Time magazine, June 15 issue, calls for the conference table. It has this to say: "After three years of fighting and two years allel the first time.



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of intermittent haggling, the Korean War neared its end, the fighting would have been only a few thousand yards over more than two years ago, from where it had begun. There was no victory. At a staggering cost in life (including 24,000 Americans killed) and property, the United Nations had upheld a principle, unification of a divided country would have to wait.

With Britain and India standing for a negotiated peace, we have been forced to do what in 1951 and late 1950 we might have done more gracefully.

THE WORLD, with the exception of Syngman Rhee, welcomes a truce. Eisenhower, a military genius in his own right, must certainly believe that a truce is the thing.

Britain and Europe think so. India thinks so because the accepted terms for a truce are mostly Nehru's.

For two and a half years we have fought on, losing lives, destroying property, crippling youths and spreading disease when we might have done twenty-four or thirty months ago what we are now doing. This is costly hindsight.

I said then and I say now that MacArthur, the State Department, the United Nations and Truman made a blunder when they did not call for a conference when they had beaten the invaders and had driven them out of South Korea.

It all cannot be blamed on MacArthur. The Truman Administration and the United Nations must share blame, along with MacArthur.

If we had called for a conference then, I believe China would have never entered the war and MacArthur's boys might have been home by Christmas of 1950.

OF COURSE, a truce in late 1950 or early 1951 might have failed. So may this one. If this one fails we will go on fighting.

If there had been one earlier and it failed, we would have still longer because we did not

If an earlier truce had failed, the fighting would have been over more than two years ago, from where it had begun. There If the present truce fails, the fighting may go on for several years more.

It isn't popular to write like this. We are too close to it.

But future historians will write in this way. At any rate, I am glad that the present Administration has seen fit to agree to the terms of a truce.

If Korea can be unified through arms, by one side beating the other down, I believe Korea can be unified through negotiation. Let us hail the truce!

MAYS

Many In South
Actually Believe
Segregation Imposed
By Law Is Wrong

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

SENATOR GEORGE has made a significant statement. He predicts that the Supreme Court will hand down a 5-4 decision outlawing segregation in public schools. The Senator says further that the South might as well anticipate its ultimate impact and prepare to meet it. The statement is significant for several reasons:

1. Senator George is a Southerner "to the manor born." He's an able Senator. I have not always applauded the positions he has taken on various matters in the Senate. But this does not matter. The man has risen to a position of national importance in our national life. He is one of the constitutional authorities in Congress. When a Southerner of national repute says

that we might as well expect the Supreme Court to declare segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, we

cannot treat it lightly. What he says on this subject will impress the South far more than if Senator Taft of Ohio or other Northern Senators had said it.

2. The Senator's statement is significant again because he presents it in a poised, calm and constructive manner.

He might have deplored the possible fact that such a decision might be handed down. He might have entered into a long discourse as to why segregation should be maintained. Ordinarily one might expect that from most Southerners in politics. The Senator might have done as, unfortunately, some Southern politicians have done, predict rioting and strained race relations if the Supreme Court rules adversely to segregation. A few leaders have done just this which in my mind is tantamount to encouraging mob violence. The Senator did none of these things. He suggests that the South might as well prepare to make the proper adjustment in case the Supreme Court rules out segregation in the public schools.

3. The remarks of the Senator are significant for a third reason. It seems to show that Senator George and other Southerners will do what people in other sections of the nation do when the Supreme Court hands down a decision. They will abide by the decision. I have said in these pages more than once that I refuse to believe that the South is a ruthless and non-law-abiding people.

OF COURSE, most Southerners are going to hold on to segregation as long as they can. But when they can no longer hold it, they are going to be good sports—they are going to abide by the decision of the highest court of the land. It can hardly be otherwise. The Supreme Court has prestige and respect not only in the North but in the South.

A few weeks ago I argued that if there is rioting and bloodshed when segregation is abolished, it will be because our leaders will have abdicated their responsibility as leaders.

If every leader takes Senator George's position, the transition will be made without grave incident. Inherently the South is no worse and no better than the people in other sections of this land.

* * *

THERE IS NO way of gathering statistics on how Southern people feel about segregation. Most human beings are cowards. We fear the social consequences if we go against current practices. It's my belief that there is a relatively high percentage of people in the South who actually believe that segregation imposed by law is wrong. But they are not going to stick their necks out by shouting it from the house-top. But these same people would be happy if the Supreme Court gave them an opportunity to do normally and legally what they would like to do but now are afraid to do.

Let those who argue against changes by law or court action remember that a new law or a court decision may free shackled minds and enable enslaved consciences to rise to the dignity for which they were made. They tell me that white patrons in a Washington restaurant have already left their seats to go over and say to Negro patrons "we are so glad you are here."

MAYS

Negro Ministers
Should Take Lead
In Eliminating Bias
From Our Churches

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

A FEW YEARS ago, a Catholic Bishop in St. Louis, Mo., set tongues a-wagging by abolishing segregation in the parochial schools of St. Louis.

A few weeks ago another Catholic Bishop, the Most Rev. Vincent Waters, astonished the

conservatives by abolishing racial segregation in Roman Catholic Churches in North Carolina.

* * *

Bishop Waters said in his edict: "All special churches for Negroes will be abolished as lending weight to the false notion that the Catholic Church, the mystical body of Christ, is divided." It seems that the majority of the people approve.



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IN THE CATHOLIC Church, the laymen seldom rise up to challenge authority. The laymen may grumble for a while but they usually obey their Bishops.

Each diocese has authority to do pretty much as it pleases on matters of this kind. The Most Rev. Vincent Waters needed no word from Rome. Within a very short while, the worshipers will have forgotten about race and they will serve the Lord without a murmur kneeling next to their white or Negro brother or sister.

It is so simple. Why can't all peoples worship God together?

This act in the very heart of the South should challenge Protestant churches. If we aren't careful the Catholics will step ahead of us.

In one sense, it is easier for the Catholic Bishop. He can speak and act with authority in a way that a Protestant minister cannot. It is not always easy for the Protestant minister to carry his officials and people along with him.

* * *

THE CATHOLIC Bishop can act unilaterally. But this does not excuse the Protestant pastor. He is obligated to lead the people.

The Rev. Charles Jones, a Presbyterian minister in Chapel Hill, N. C., is leading his people. He sees eye to eye with Bishop Waters and for years he has been moving towards an integrated church. The reactionary forces have been try-

ing to get him out. But the Rev. Mr. Jones sticks to his principles as a Christian minister and the vast majority of the people stand by him.

The people are "readier" than we think.

For years we have been boasting about freedom in the Negro churches and we have been raving about the freedom of the Negro minister. It is high time that we proved by deeds that we are free. We say the Negro minister can preach a more prophetic gospel than his white brother. I believe this is so. I also believe he is freer to act.

IN THEORY, the Negro church is open to all races. We criticize the white ministers because of their timidity when it comes to a free worshiping church.

How free is the Negro pastor to act? I believe most Negro pastors could advocate worship across racial lines in their churches. I am also convinced that the Negro pastor could advocate membership across racial lines in his church and get away with it.

I doubt if any pastor would lose his pulpit for so doing. There might be some growling on the part of a few members but, by and large, the Negro people would welcome having their churches open to all the people. What, then, is the drawback?

I wish the Negro church people everywhere would make it clear that their churches are not closed to members of other racial groups. They should say it in their pulpits, in the press, and over the radio.

The Rev. William Holmes Borders of Atlanta does make it clear in his radio talks here in Atlanta that Wheat Street is open to all.

THIS THING should not be taken for granted. Our associations and conventions, local, state, and national, should draw up resolutions telling the world that the Negro churches close their doors to nobody.

The number of white people who would worship and join the so-called Negro churches is not important. They may be few and they may be many.

But the main thing is that it be known to the world that we draw no color bar in our churches.

MAYS

Recognition of Red China Is Irrelevant to Korean Peace

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

BEFORE the Korean war I had taken the position along with Britain and India that Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations. I thought that way because there are approximately four hundred million Chinese under the Communist regime in China. Whether we like it or not it is a fact. The number of Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek on the Island of Formosa is a mere handful in comparison with the 400 million in the China mainland. We don't like communism in Russia, nor Czechoslovakia, nor Poland, but they are members of the United Nations.



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Fortunately or unfortunately, the people in Asia do not feel the same as we do about Communism. We in the west have enjoyed a period of prosperity and well-being unparalleled in history; especially is this true of the United States. It is true to a lesser degree in Europe and Canada. We are also a little further removed from communism than the people in the East. There is little reason for the average American or the average Westerner to be enthusiastic about communism. Communist thrives on poverty, disease, war, and to some extent illiteracy. When a Communist leader talks to us in the United States about poverty and disease, it doesn't mean the same as it does when a Communist leader talks to people in China or India about poverty and disease.

NOW THAT a truce has been signed, what about China and the United Nations? Eventually, China should be recognized by the United Nations and by the United States, but not now. The truce talks in Korea, looking towards a permanent peace and the unification of Korea, must be issues that will be decided without dragging in irrelevant material. The Reds may not try it, but certainly no permanent peace can be built if the North Koreans and China make the recognition of Communist China a condition of peace or a condition of a united Korea. The unification of

Korea and the recognition of China by the United Nations are two distinct issues and they must be considered separately.

We all hope that the truce will lead to permanent peace and we fervently pray that Korea will be peacefully united. If and when this is done, I think the problem of China's recognition will be in order. If the Communists are still in control of the mainland of China at that time and if peace has been established and Korea united without coercion, what would be in the way of our recognizing Red China? I can almost predict that if these things obtain, both Great Britain and France will take the leadership in the United Nations to get Red China recognized. If we oppose it, then we would be in an embarrassing position; in fact, I am of the opinion that we would be outvoted in the United Nations if all the "ifs" which I have named come to pass.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the people in Asia do not feel the same as we do about Communism. We in the west have enjoyed a period of prosperity and well-being unparalleled in history; especially is this true of the United States. It is true to a lesser degree in Europe and Canada. We are also a little further removed from communism than the people in the East. There is little reason for the average American or the average Westerner to be enthusiastic about communism. Communist thrives on poverty, disease, war, and to some extent illiteracy. When a Communist leader talks to us in the United States about poverty and disease, it doesn't mean the same as it does when a Communist leader talks to people in China or India about poverty and disease.

FOR DECADES, yea, for centuries, the vast majority of the people of India have known nothing but poverty, starvation and disease. When the Communists promise to free them of these ills and tell them that they do not have to live that way, it sounds much better in their ears than it does in the ears of a man who has never known hunger. All Asia will be sympathetic towards China's entrance in the United Nations. Their attitude and their posi-

tion must be taken into account when the time is ripe to debate again the recognition of China by the United Nations.

As for India, if the Congress party remains in power, and if it can alleviate poverty and disease fast enough, communism will not spread in India. But in her apparent neutral position between us and Russia, it does not mean that the leaders in India are Communist minded when they fight for the recognition of Red China in the United Nations. India is democratic.

MAYS

Miami Convention Marks Signal Honor and a Great Victory

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

MAMI measured up. There was some apprehension about the hotel situation. But it is a fact that several hotels on Miami Beach were opened to delegates of the National Baptist Convention, Inc. I also learned from friends who stayed on that beach that the hotels did not attempt to discriminate against the Negro delegates.

As far as I know there was no unpleasant incident. The city officials of Miami went out of their way to see to it that the delegates were treated courteously. The opening of the hotels on Miami Beach has special significance. I was told by Miamians that this was the first time that the hotels had opened their doors to an all-colored group.

They had been opened before to organizations with mixed members and where the whites in the organizations were in the majority, and where the leadership was in the hands of whites. But the National Baptist Convention, Inc., is wholly Negro and the leadership is Negro. This is a much better test than their accepting an organi-

zation that has a mixed membership.

IT IS USUALLY much easier to open up a prejudiced situation when influential white leaders unlock the door, but it is never thoroughly tested until Negroes without white influence, get the doors open.

This is what happened in Miami. The host churches in Miami deserve considerable credit in getting the hotels on Miami Beach opened to Negroes of the National Baptist Convention.

The Miami incident proves again that when people in authority make up their minds to take a forward step in furthering the cause of human relations, nothing unfortunate happens. The officials of the Miami Beach hotels could have manufactured good reasons why the Miami Beach hotels should not be opened to Negroes. They could have feared race riots and argued that the cause of race relations would be set back for a quarter of a century.

THEY DID none of these things and the sky didn't fall. Nor did the sun cease to shine. I am of the opinion that the cause of human brotherhood was furthered because the people who stayed on the beach were well mannered. What Miami did, every big city in the South could do. It is nonsense to keep on arguing that the time isn't right! The time is ripe when the leadership is ripe. Leaders make the time ripe.



Dr. Mays

MAMI DEMONSTRATES again that politics is politics. Whether it is a fraternity or sorority, church or state, politics is politics. And when it begins to operate, church people may not be any more Christian than the politicians in the Democratic or Republican Conventions. It is unfortunate to see how state and national politics have influenced church politics.

On the whole, the election in Miami was carried out orderly and justly. But I think there was a little cheating on both sides during the election. Some people voted twice. As a non-partisan, I could observe more objectively than those who were heated up over their candidates.

The election of Dr. J. H. Jack-

son as president was all the more remarkable since three of the contenders for the office declined in favor of Dr. Perry and the other one, I think, was in Dr. Perry's corner. It looked at first that Perry would win by a wide margin, but when Mississippi, Jackson's birth state, voted its large delegation for him, it was clear that Dr. Perry was beaten. Jackson's lead was assured after that, and Tennessee and South Carolina helped mightily in giving Jackson a 500 lead over Perry.

It was a great victory for Jackson, but it carries with it a greater responsibility. Few men in the history of the church have attained such honor and few men will ever have the opportunity that is Jackson's to lead four million Baptists in a constructive program, that will gain the respect and admiration of the religious world. More power to him. The Baptist look hopefully to Jackson for significant leadership.

MAYS

acted Like a
human Being on
160-Mile Railroad
trip Through South

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

WAS Nov. 9, 1953. My New York meeting was over at 5 P. M., and I tried to get the 6:25 P. M. train to Atlanta in order to be in the next afternoon before my office closed. When I went to purchase tickets, I discovered that the 6:25 train had no Atlanta Pullman. There were Pullman coaches for Greensboro, Charlotte and Greenville, but none for Atlanta. I had to take this train or get a later one, which would have put me in Atlanta after office hours.

Since it is so easy for a few of us to escape most of Jim Crow by driving our own cars or riding Pullman, I decided it would be a good thing to take the 6:25 train and ride south from Greenville, S. C., to Atlanta a distance of about 160 miles. Then, too, I feel that as long as Negroes are segregated, ~~we~~ not only is my bit to destroy segregation, but I must continue to experience its ordeal as long as it exists.

As long as Negroes are segregated, all Negroes are involved even though a few may be able to escape much of it. But really, as I shall soon state, I did not ride segregated from Greenville to Atlanta.

SHORTLY AFTER leaving New York, I realized that I was an inter-state passenger and that according to a Supreme Court decision, I was

not obliged to ride Jim Crow. The question was what to do on arriving in Greenville? Take advantage of the Supreme Court decision or follow the pattern of segregation? As I have said before, the Supreme Court can make decisions but the nine Supreme Court judges cannot follow Negroes around to see that their decisions are implemented.

I have had some unpleasant experiences on the railroads and no one enjoys them. The experience of being driven out of a Pullman years ago by passengers who held a pistol at my back is still vivid in my mind. I recall another unpleasant situation twenty-five years ago when the conductor almost precipitated a riot, when my wife and I rode out of a certain Florida city in a drawing room. A little more than a decade ago I was put out of a diner between Atlanta and Greenville. If the Henderson case had not knocked out the curtain, it would probably have been my case. All these unpleasant experiences kept coming into my mind.



Dr. Mays

writing my speech.

Later a white man in plain clothes came and advised me to move. He was nice about it, but stated that it would be better if I moved since he didn't know what might happen. He made it clear he wasn't trying to force me. I thanked him and continued my work. Nothing happened. I rode unsegregated from Greenville to Atlanta. The conductor said no more. The plainclothesman said no more.

MAYS
Two Student Editors
Resign Because They
Were Not Free to
Edit a Free Press

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

TWO UNIVERSITY of Georgia students, the editor and managing editor of "The Red and Black," resigned their position recently because they were not free to edit a free press. The editors wrote against segregation in

the public schools. Both boys are natives of Georgia—one from Cairo and the other from Macon. So both Walter Lundy Jr. and Bill Shipp are from small Georgia communities. This shows again that courage and vision may come from any place however small and "insignificant."

These editors were writing at the time the Georgia Legislature was in the process of passing laws designed to abolish the public schools in the event the Supreme Court declares segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. This is the part of the editorial that touched off the controversy:

"With communism knocking at the Negro's back door, we cannot afford to let educational segregation barriers stand. It is as plain as the red

flag in Russia that continued segregation and suppression can and will cause the death of democracy by the hands of its own leaders."

THE EDITORIAL also referred to Governor Talmadge's stand for school segregation as "the Mr. Hyde side of his political personality." Roy Harris, a regent of the University System, threatened to have state funds for the campus paper cut off. Although the editors expressed regrets if they had in any way embarrassed the university, they refused to retract.

A resolution was offered in the House of the State Legislature demanding the resignation of the students, but since the university had already taken a stand, the resolution was dropped. The university came in and a "plan of operation was worked out by which copy in any way prejudicial to the welfare of the university would be submitted for discussion with a faculty instructor assigned to the campus paper."

IT WAS further understood that if the student editors and the instructor could not agree on what material should be published, the Board of Control would decide. In resigning, Editor Lundy Jr. wrote Dr. John E. Drewry, Director of Public Relations, as follows: "If I retained the office I would be forced to disagree strongly with the action taken by the Board of Control which, as I see it, imposes strict control over the policies of the publication."

Managing Editor Shipp resigned with these words: "Since the staff's right of reply to charges and names hurled at it by (Regent) Roy V. Harris in the Augusta Courier has been denied by the university, I feel that I cannot honorably continue working on the campus newspaper. The university and the Board of Regents have failed to recognize the student paper's right to comment on matters which we feel, are of vital importance to the student body. As a result of regulations invoked this week, the 'Red and Black' cannot continue to

uphold its stand in opposing certain political elements and unrealistic views and actions concerning the current segregation issue."

THREE BRIEF comments are in order:

1. One sees the difference here between a state-supported institution and a private college. I believe the editorial would have been permitted to stand on its merit if the school had been private. A college is possibly freer with private support if supported with tax or church money. This is further evidence in favor of the independent college dominated neither by church nor state;

2. The editors resigned on principle. In their editorial they were dealing with one of the basic social problems of our time—segregation. It took courage for these two Georgia boys to write like that in the student paper and courage for them to resign with dignity, still standing by what they believe to be right. They were scrapping over something worth while and not frivolity;

3. Time is on their side. The future is with them. Lundy and Shipp may be a bit depressed and downcast now, but some day they will be mighty glad they took the stand they did.

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Dr. Mays



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MAYS

He Tells a Friend
What They Teach the
Boys at Morehouse
In Dear Old Atlanta

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

IT WAS Saturday, Sept. 26. I was on my way to New York to preach at the ten o'clock service of the Great Abyssinian Baptist Church made famous by A. Clayton Powell Sr. and the fame perpetuated by the Congressman-pastor, A. Clayton Powell Jr.

I went to the diner to eat and was seated at a table with a young man who is a graduate of a famous Eastern college. He was recently married and is in the Army down in the Old Dominion

Dr. Mays

He was going to New York for the week-end to be with his wife. He wasn't eating. He was drinking beer. He must love it because he had drunk six cans of beer and a cup of coffee when I left the table. He was quite sober and delightfully genial.

He was from Pennsylvania and had seen race prejudice in operation. Down in Virginia he was seeing it operate more ~~st~~ ~~freely~~ openly than he had seen it in his native Pennsylvania. He wanted to know my business. I told him I was president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga.

Immediately he wanted to know what we taught the Negro students at Morehouse.

A second question: "Do you teach them to accept the segregation of the South?" Both

questions were easy to answer.

I TOLD HIM that Morehouse College is a college of arts and sciences, and that we prepare our students to enter various fields after they complete their college work. The first two years are mainly general education with some concentration.

The last two are almost wholly concentration in the students' majors. I told him that we prepare students to enter medicine, dentistry, law, the ministry, social work, library service, business, Government service, teaching, and to be skilled as chemists, mathematicians, physicists and accountants.

I said further that we strive to assemble a faculty which will make Morehouse an acceptable institution now and in years to come whether our society becomes thoroughly integrated or remains for a while a semi-segregated one.

This answer led logically to the second question. "Do you teach your students to accept a segregated society?"

I TOLD MY FRIEND that we at Morehouse teach and expect our students to obey the laws of segregation but never to accept the segregated pattern as right or final.

Not only Morehouse students, but all students and all Negroes know that that law is unjust which Jim-crows a man solely because he belongs to a particular race or group.

As one rides segregated or works segregated in obedience to the law, he does it protesting in his soul against a law or system which brands him as being unfit to move around as a free man.

At Morehouse we look forward to the time, and we shall work orderly and constitutionally to that end, when we in these United States will rid ourselves of a practice which cannot be justified by science, the Christian religion nor by the Constitution of the United States.

My friend appeared interested and expressed thanks for the chat.

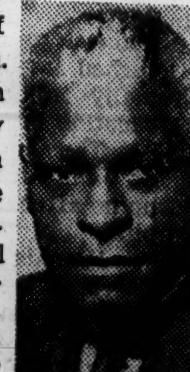
MAYS

Student Pays
For Fraction
Of Education
In U. S. College

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

FREQUENTLY we hear a graduate say that he paid his bills when he was in college and therefore he owes his college nothing. I answer by saying that a student pays for only a fraction of the cost of his education. Even the very rich do not pay the full cost of their education.

A student in our country can go from the first grade through professional school and do graduate work in a university on charity or rather on money



Dr. Mays

paid in taxes by his parents or other people, or both. Public school education is free through high school. Tax-supported colleges and universities are cheap because they are supported by taxes.

Out of tax money the states pour millions of dollars into their universities, colleges, technical schools and professional schools to provide adequate dormitories, academic and science buildings, library and scientific equipments. These buildings, running into the billions across the country, are not paid for by the students. The parents pay ~~taxes~~ some little, some much and some none. Nevertheless, every American child can get a high school education with no cost to him or her, and not enough cost to his parents to pay for eleven or twelve years of schooling. Generations of dead people who paid taxes are contributing toward the education of the students of this generation.

Oct. 11-7-53

THE STATES appropriate other millions of the people's money to pay the salaries of teachers. Here again the individual student in a public grammar or higher school does not pay for being taught. And if each child or parents had to provide facilities and teachers for the education of his child it would be prohibitive. The cost would be too great. Every individual student, therefore, is indebted to others for his education. He cannot pay for it himself.

Although the students who attend private, church or independent colleges pay more than those who attend public-supported institutions, they do not and cannot pay for their education.

I will use as an example, Harvard University. I take Harvard because it is the oldest and the best endowed university in the United States, and no doubt the best endowed university in the world. Does the student enrolled in

Harvard in 1953 pay for his education?

Harvard has an endowment of \$250,000,000. Harvard College was founded in 1636—317 years ago. It has taken Harvard 317 years to get these two hundred and fifty million dollars. People who have been dead for two or more centuries helped to endow Harvard. And because Harvard is endowed, the student of this generation can go to Harvard cheaper than ~~he~~ could go if Harvard were not endowed. He can sit under expert teachers because Harvard is endowed. He can work with the finest scientific equipment and can study in one of the best libraries because people living and dead gave to Harvard's endowment. Thousands upon thousands of students have received scholarships, without which they could not have gone to college, because Harvard has an endowment of \$250,000,000.

THERE ARE the buildings at Harvard. I do not know the value of the physical plant. I suspect the physical plant at Harvard is valued at another two hundred and fifty million dollars. Even if it is valued at only a hundred million dollars, who gave the money for the physical plant at Harvard? Certainly the students didn't. Graduates who are wealthy have given the money to build up and maintain the Harvard plant, but the students are heirs of those who have gone before.

It all adds up to one thing. Students, past nor present, do not and cannot pay for their education. All education is subsidized, whether private or public, by the state or by philanthropy. If the cost of a year's study at Harvard were trebled, the student could not pay in full for his education.

Everyone who has given to Harvard since 1636 has helped to educate the student at Harvard in 1953. Graduates are obligated therefore to contribute to the colleges.

MAYS

Graduates of Private
Colleges Hold Futures
Of Their Alma Mater
In Their Own Hands

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

LAST WEEK I think I proved that all education, whether private or public, is highly ~~subsidized~~.

We are educated on taxes or charity or both. This article follows logically from the one last week. Colleges and their

alumni are mutually inclusive. If the graduates didn't succeed the colleges could not continue to exist. The people wouldn't support them. A college may be defined as existing in the lives and works of its graduates. If the

graduates of a college do great things the college is great. A college is judged mainly by what its graduates do and not by brick and mortar, even though these must be.

A GREAT FACULTY helps to make a college great; also a great student body. But in the long run of the decades, the graduates make a college what it is. Although the students cannot pay for their education, the colleges owe much to their graduates.

The college helps to make the graduate what he is. The graduate helps to make the college what it is. Almost useless the one without the other. Booker Washington may have been ~~just~~ as great if he had not gone to Hampton, but he went to Hampton so history can never disassociate Booker Washington from Hampton. Hampton made Booker and Booker made Hampton.

Because of this interlocking, I raise the question "Do graduates support their col-



Dr. Mays

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Howard U. Professor
Master-minds By-Play
On Equal Schools
Case 31a *new*

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

A BEAUTIFUL by-play on the issue of segregated schools in the District of Columbia is being master-minded by Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, Howard University professor and newest member of the District's Board of Education.

While the main challenge to segregation in the D. C. schools, as illegal per se, is proceeding apace in the Supreme Court of the United States, and is due for reargument on Dec. 7, Dr. Butcher is campaigning vigorously on the related question of the inequality in objective facilities between the Negro and white schools.

It is a very skillful and courageous operation because it runs counter to a tendency, on both sides of the fence, to let situations drag pending the Supreme Court decision.

Concours
DR. BUTCHER'S theory is that the educational rights of every Negro child are a here-and-now matter, that the denial of opportunity is an irreparable injury and that relief should be provided by the responsible authorities without any further staining.

The initiative in her current campaign was seized by Dr. Butcher at the opening of the

school year when she asked Dr. Hobart M. Corning, the white superintendent of both

systems, to report on the disparities between the two, in the residents of the District, equalities that the community the parents of Negro children, has known about empirically and even by way of some "token information."

She asked for documentation on three matters: the pupil-teacher ratio in the Negro and white schools, the kindergarten program in the two systems and the equipment in the plants of two technical high schools, Armstrong for Negroes and McKinley for whites.

DR. CORNING'S report reached last week's board meeting, hot off the mimeograph and too late for discussion.

As quoted in the daily press, it showed an excess of 188 white teachers and a shortage of sixty-nine Negro teachers in the D. C. schools. It showed that there are 465 Negro pupils waiting to get into kindergarten, but only thirty-one white children on a waiting list. Moreover, twenty-four Negro schools operate a four-day kindergarten program instead of five-day, but no white school has a curtailed program.

There is more, probably much more, which Dr. Butcher hasn't gotten around to requesting Dr. Corning to bone up to . . . statistics and information he ought to know if he meant to have even a "minimum of efficiency of operation." But if Dr. Corning thinks Dr. Butcher is going to let up on him, he should be warned that she has only begun to collect the ammunition she needs.

And, if board members think that their fears or disapproval will stay Dr. Butcher's swift course through the fog that has surrounded the status of the District's schools, they, too, had better dig in for a long fight. One thoroughly dedicated woman can



Miss McKenzie

Dr. Hobart M. Corning. And this one has brains as well as conviction.

* * *

THE SHAME of it all is that the well-informed and ordinary militant Negro leadership of Washington, have all neglected to assert the clear constitutional right of full equality during the more than three years since the Supreme Court spelled the definition out.

To say that a challenge to segregation in toto has been pending is no answer. The Negro child who missed a year of kindergarten in 1951 is now in a crowded second grade class and there is probably no way to assess his loss, nor to repair it.

We need also to expose the official callousness that condones the differences between the two systems, differences that invariably are resolved against the Negro schools.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

THE NEWS that some American soldiers, repatriated in the Korean prisoner of war exchange, have adopted Communist ideology is very disturbing.

Some estimates of the number of "progressives" returning from North Korean and Chinese indoctrination efforts run as high as 20 per cent.

Much more will have to be reported about this phenomenon before we can really understand it. We need to know who these Americans are who have submitted to the Communist brain-wash.

Are they white or colored, or both, and in what proportion? Where are they from? What was their condition in life before they entered the Army?

What educational backgrounds do they have? How does this data compare with the social and economic facts about American soldiers in Korea in general?

THERE WERE no reports at the end of World War II about the number of Americans who came back from German prison camps confirmed Nazis or from Japanese camps convinced of the correctness of the Japanese brand of totalitarianism.

Why the difference in this war?

Considering the cultural and racial differences between the Americans and their captors, it seems inconceivable that any significant number would be affected by the teaching programs forced on them while they were prisoners.

Whatever happened bears study because it has implications in several aspects of our national and international life.

By Suppressing Knowledge And Freedom We Raise Wobbly-Minded Soldiers



Miss McKenzie

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

IN THE first place, we are in a free society, would be impressed by the kind of power various spots around the world that is exercised in a controlled and beaming our way of life society?

across the iron curtain as the Communists are with their propaganda machine.

Though we realize that the political ideas of the Communists and our own are very

where locked in competition, WE HAVE investigated Communists probably few Americans ever munists in government and have given a thought to the purged according to an ever-chance that the Communists tightening definition of citizen-might successfully indoctrinate ship loyalty.

We have assumed that any one exposed all of his life to democracy would have no doubt as to its superiority.

IN WORKING for peace and freedom, through the UN and NATO, the Technical Assistance Program, the Voice of America, and the Overseas Libraries, our problem has been to carry the message of democracy to the uninitiated.

Seldom do we think of indoctrination as a two-way street. We have learned the art of or inquire of the number of character assassination and steps that have been planned to fortify Americans abroad against the siren song of the Kremlin.

What occurred in the early and fear helped or hindered our faith in democracy?

We are forced to question the effectiveness of what we have done and continue to do if we are to believe that twenty out of one hundred American POW's do not have the mental stimina to survive a Communist brain-wash.

ONE PERMUTATION is that in which the slave adopts the thinking of the master, including the master's contempt for the slave.

This is the material out of which "Uncle Toms" are fashioned. Since all Americans, white and Negro, have this heritage, we ought to be able to suppose that, while Negro American soldiers could avoid falling into this kind of mental and psychological trap.

Who would have dreamed that American boys, accustomed to demonstrations of power

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

Negro Woman Still Has Her Privacy in The Wake of Kinsey

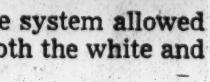
IT IS REALLY a shame that Negro women have been left out of the findings of the Kinsey report on women.

The omission distorts the sample statistically, since Negro women are roughly ten per cent of the total female population.

It also distorts it psychologically, since American folklore and slave myth have accorded a special role to the Negro woman.

Traditional, white women have looked askance at this mysterious creature whom the caste system allowed

Miss McKenzie



THERE ARE one or two conclusions in the Kinsey report that tend to indicate that racial factors have no more significance than there was less experience. Negro women are thoroughly in the scope of sex.

The omission distorts the sample statistically, since Negro women are roughly ten per cent of the total female population.

By so much, their characters Legend has it that the Negro woman is freer in expressing and thus the Negro hour of herself because she is uncultivated. That is to say that Negro women are even more fictional.

gro girls are the products of Those skeptics who refuse to

slum and lower class, that believe that the physical differ-

ence between men and women

are important, or any obstacle

And, being deprived of the to "equality" between the emotionally cooling effects of sexes, are of course left with strict middle-class upbringing, cultural factors to examine and Negro women have been evaluate. And as we go back to

thought to be more nearly the the symbolic story of the Negro, warm, responsive souls nature gro woman as the uninhibited intended all women to be. But slum dweller, we must not Dr. Kinsey says that class differences did not reveal great able scientific material variations of behavior among white women.

MUCH OF IT shows a clinical picture of the Negro slum woman, not as wild and free and loving, but as unloved, suspicious and cold. The case histories in "Mark of Oppression" by the Columbia University psychiatrists are interesting on this point and so are the studies of personality in Negro youth by Dr. Allison Davis.

DR. KINSEY THINKS that Our generation and our culture are greatly intrigued by certain biological differences between the sexes must be considered in explaining the disparity in sexual response between men and women.

If such differences constitute a valid and important division of the human species, and the cause of variations in behavior, then the fact of sex is more important than the fact of race. Human frustration knows no barriers of sex, race or religion.

Maybe Negro and white women are more truly sisters Simone de Beauvoir's "The Second Sex," puts the issue in under the skin than the folklore admits, and from whatever historical, literary, philosophical class or race, tend to behave as cal and scientific perspective. women first.

It makes good ballast for a reading of the Kinsey report,

THERE ARE OTHER Kinsey which can then be regarded as data worth projecting. Dr. Kinsey found that among all the frustration, rather than the women interviewed there was a finite work or the moral correlation between their religious devotion and their sex.

make of it.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

THE NATIONAL Council of Negro Women is in convention in Washington this week and, as a maturing power group, deserves an editorial nod.

Engaged in electing a new slate of officers for the first time in four years and electing its third president in eighteen years, the Council energetically is demonstrating that it has survived the loss of Mary McLeod Bethune's active leadership and can be expected to go on fulfilling her dream for it.

When Mrs. Bethune retired from ~~the~~ presidency in 1949, members and friends of the Council feared for its continuity and its continuing effectiveness.

Strong personalities do not always build strong organizations and, as long as they stay at the helm, it is not easy to determine whether they have dreamed wisely or built enduringly. ~~So~~ was the question that faced NCNW's membership four years ago and, although the organization, benefit of its founder's guidance, has suffered growing pains, it has prospered and multiplied and extended its influence. It has continued to be a credit to Mrs. Bethune's ambition.

THE COUNCIL is the youngest of our important national organizations and it has tremendous vitality.

Not as rich or well-staffed, nor even as well-oriented to a doctrine or purpose as the NAACP or the Urban League, for example, the Council nevertheless receives recognition and representation on a wide national and international front.

It is doubtful that any Ne-

gro leader, even one as forceful and powerful as Mary Bethune was eighteen years ago, could begin a new national Negro organization.

It is a tribute to the leadership of the last two decades, and to its imaginative and sustained exploitation of the social forces of our times, that new formal aggregations of Negroes would no longer make sense. But those that we have must be alert to their responsibility to be flexible and to change in response to the changing functions they have to perform.



Miss McKenzie

Mary Bethune's Dream
Fulfilled by Vitality
Of Negro Women's Group

We need these friends in close association as we work with them to develop the climate for the racial integration that is so imminent on so many fronts in public and that the chief responsibility of Negro leadership is the promotion of civil rights for all.

THE OPPONENTS of a change in name point with pride to the phenomenal acceptance of the NCNW by the other women's national organizations in America.

Never would we have achieved such recognition under an indifferent, non-descriptive title, they say. They remind us that the National Council of Catholic Women and the National Council of Jewish Women are clearly identified, all the while conceding that these are religious or even perhaps cultural rather than racial references, and conceding, too, that no other racially identifying title is carried by any of the national women's organizations with which the Council works.

Some of us in NCNW are not above a little chauvinism, or racial pride, in clinging to the banner under which we have made more progress than any of our constituent groups.

CHIEFLY, HOWEVER, the convention is concerning itself not with labels, nor with the symbols of leadership. It is getting down, its first day, to a long session on the meaning and expression of leadership, both within the Council and without, as Council women devote their skills to their community life all over the nation.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF this need is one of the issues before the NCNW's convention this week.

There has been a growing sentiment in the Council for a new name that would omit the word "Negro." As long ago as 1946, Mrs. Bethune recommended consideration of such a change to the membership. It is a question about which Council women have vigorous opinions.

Many say that it was necessary for the organization to be known as a national body of Negro women in order to launch it successfully into the mainstream of American group life.

Now, however, strong inter-organizational ties exist, the membership and the program are well-known and such identification is not necessary to assure our inclusion in representative gatherings.

THESE SAME spokesmen point out that one of the Council's chief objectives is the eradication of segregation in American life. Obviously, we should not, at the same time, be guilty ourselves of using terms which set us apart from other women, other groups.

Over the years, numerous white women, as well as women of other minorities, have been interested in the Council's program, but have hesitated to seek or accept membership under a so exclusive label.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

Negro Leadership's
Chief Responsibility
Lies in Civil Rights

RECENTLY, I HEARD the representatives of thirteen national Negro organizations discuss the proposition that the chief responsibility of Negro leadership is the promotion of civil rights for all. Superficially, of course, there might be ready and proper agreement that this is so. Racial prejudice operates more or less indiscriminately against all Negroes.

To meet this problem, all Negroes must mobilize their resources to eliminate the force that keeps them out of the main current of American life.

While we can agree that the most compelling task of Negro leadership is to win first-class citizenship for those it serves, we need constantly to re-examine the techniques of that leadership.

IF IT DOES insist on defining its objective narrowly, it is not required to limit its method. In some endeavors, the very limitations of too specific a goal may result in the goal's becoming a chimera.

First-class citizenship in America is a dynamic concept, not a measurable quantity which we can hold before ourselves. It waxes and wanes with the fortunes of the times.

What a Pyrrhic victory Negro leadership would win were it to project every Negro American to a plane of true equality and justice, only to learn that the plane itself had been demeaned to a level on which it meant very little to be an American citizen.

THIS IS TO SAY that the civil rights fight is related to the preservation and enrichment of other values in American life.

The pursuit of one single value, in heedless disregard

of the status of the other values, could be a blind alley operation, ending in nothing.

The question then arises whether Negro leadership should or could neglect to devote its energies and interests, for example, to the protection of civil liberties.

If McCarthyism is our business, we have to help oppose its spread and we have to decide how much of our time and money can be deflected to that cause.

IF WE REFUSE to engage in the struggle, we become the dependent recipients of a standard of freedom we had no part in defending.

What would it mean to be a first-class citizen if America's foreign policy should fail, if the crisis in the European Defense Community deepens, if President Eisenhower's proposals of atomic power are not the beginning of the way out of total destruction?

If we say that security and freedom are the white man's burden and that our job is to run to catch up with him before it becomes our duty to help carry this burden, we box ourselves into a pretty untenable position.

He could say in return that he had no duty to share his security and his freedom. Conceding that we would be willing to assist now if we were rightfully included in the culture is to express only a logical and moral proposition. It does not describe the reality of our situation, which is on the outside and from which position we are bargaining to get in.

BUT MORE important than assessing the cost of freedom and paying the price is the opportunity to have a shared experience in bringing about its realization.

The number of white people who will work with us on civil rights goals, is, as we know so painfully, very limited.

White America can conceivably win the peace, certainly by diplomacy, if not militarily, without our active participation. We cannot win civil

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

MAYBE you have read the Saturday Evening Post article of Dec. 13, entitled "For Negroes, It's a New Army Now." If not, try to find a copy and give yourself a few quiet moments with it.

Sometimes, when we have worked long and arduously for a goal, we over-achieve and overshoot the mark, without knowing we have arrived. I would not suggest for a moment that the problem of segregation in the armed services has been solved, but there are many examples, such as the integration of the 272nd Artillery Battalion in Germany, which illustrate both important progress and important lessons in technique.

It is in this aspect of the job which the Army has done that the Post article is particularly provocative. The editors point out that in June, 1951, the Post reported from the front lines in Korea on how Negro troops were measuring up. There was as the result of that survey, strong evidence for three conclusions. These were:

1. Negro soldiers were individually as heroic, intelligent and able as any other American soldiers;

2. All-Negro troops had, on the whole, poor combat records;

3. The obvious solution to this paradox appeared to be abolition of segregation.

THE RECENT article on the Army in Germany is a story about how the job of realizing the obvious was done. Its real emphasis is on integration as a goal to be described, not in terms of social desirables, but as military necessity. The framework of action was the sparse one of Army directives, the behavior of men and officers under the stress of Army directive is controlled and pre-



Miss McKenzie

rhetic and unrelieved by the dictates of personal attitudes. Integration in the European command was ordered from Washington last March and was officially begun in April. The Post reports, "Barely a month later, a score of major all-Negro units had already been broken up and several thousand Negro officers and soldiers had been spread out in all the white combat divisions and supporting arms of the U. S. Seventh Army, which mans our front line in Europe." Yet American newsmen covering Germany did not realize this development going on under their noses until a fare-well review was staged for General Eisenhauer. The 4,000 picked troops marching by the Victory Stadium in Frankfurt made an eye-catching parade because "as the steel-helmeted battalions marched by, you noticed Negro soldiers interspersed at random among the white. Over here was a colored corporal, the guide for a rank of white soldiers, there, almost hidden by the two white soldiers who flanked him in the marching columns, was a black-skinned private; out there, in front, was a Negro lieutenant marching alongside the white ward Negroes in exactly opposite fashions.

Such a society tends to produce contradictory patterns of behavior, not only among the groups, but in the personal life of an individual, who may belong to many different special interest groups.

IN A culture so organized, it is clear that the force of individual attitudes is severely limited. Race relations in this context becomes controlled, not by private feelings, but by the collectively defined interest of the group. Thus, in a labor union and in a property-owners' association, an individual might be required to react to marching alongside the white ward Negroes in exactly opposite fashions.

THIS CHANGE, when it was inaugurated, was explained to understand the Army's success as commandwide and cess with its integration program. Authority and the group was told they had known it objective of better military efficiency that General Bradley the racial prejudices of the and the Joint Chiefs of Staff officers or men.

could do about the directive except "take it easy and make it work." There are of course many things to be said about the social and psychological effects of integration in these European units and of the great number of units still unaffected. What is interesting is that

We need frequent opportunities for looking at race relations, not as isolated phenomena of American life, nor as presenting problems to be solved in a special compartment of knowledge. Developments in race relations are affected by other social movements, groupings, interests, changes.

The identification of Negroes

(Negro) Marjorie McKenzie

Saturday Evening Post Article Gives Good Picture Of Negroes in the Army

with these interests does two things: First, their mere belonging to the group is a movement into the main stream. Secondly, their belonging provides the group with experiences with Negroes and thus paves the way for resulting adjustments in racial attitudes.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

SHOULD AMERICAN Negroes adopt the hypothesis that the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation in the United States and on the continent of Africa is a related problem which will be solved at the same time?

This theory was advanced by Dr. Rayford Logan, professor of history at Howard University, in a forum lecture at the University last week. Dr. Logan has just returned from a year's research and study in Paris on the participation of French Colonial representatives as general departmental members of the French legislative assembly.

Dr. Logan is an authority also on trusteeships and on diplomatic policy and practice relating to dependent peoples.

DR. LOGAN traced for his audience of university students and teachers, as well as interested people from the Washington community, the parallels between the fate of Negroes in Africa and America.

He analyzed the premises and function of white supremacy doctrines in the Old World and the New. He believes there is an impending crisis in Africa which will affect us. He believes that advances in race relations in America find expression in a modified life situation on the black continent.

In so complex, so seemingly impenetrable a mystery, the

Rayford Logan Thinks Freedom for U. S. Negroes Rests Upon a Free Africa

significance of ~~problem~~ and early British Commonwealth status and freedom for the Gold Coast, is beyond assessment.

IS AFRICA'S complexity our complexity? Is its timetable ours, too?

Is color the single key to the riddle of the black man's status in Africa and America?

Does it make no difference that black men were transplanted from Africa to America 300 years ago and that a war was fought ninety years ago between brothers over the status of those emigres and their descendants?

Would it make no difference to us if our ancestors had never seen America?

Dr. Logan suggests that our true emancipation depends on the freedom of our blood brothers in all of the dramatically different political systems of Africa.

WE HEAR ALSO of the Nineteenth Century pattern of the Belgian Congo, whose strict segregation Belgium intends to project for 100 years longer into the future.

We are advised by Dr. Logan that the probable and imminent spread of Mohammedanism farther southward is regarded by many African scholars as being as great a force in the possible transfiguration of that strange land as any other single idea.

We are watchful of the independence of the black kingdom of the East, Ethiopia, and of the black republic of the West, Liberia. We listen to the rumblings for freedom in Nigeria and hold our breaths at the swift ascent of Kwame Nkrumah, the fighting young prime ministers of the Gold Coast.

He discounts also, if I understand his hypothesis, the meaning of American citizenship and the uniformity of our political system. He consigns us to thinking in racial terms, a practice we have asked our white friends to abandon as unhealthy.

Dr. Logan, whose scholarship in this area demands respect, has challenged us to deep consideration of a frightening idea.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

31a Negro
By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

IN A defense-minded nation, we ought to be very jealous of the pre-induction opportunities for military training and officer preparation provided our young men.

The boy who has a background of experience before



Miss McKenzie
The reserve officer training corps chances of Negro youth, in college or high school, are almost conclusively defined by the segregated system of the South, where most Negroes live.

Fourteen states and the District of Columbia have segregated schools. Only ten of these states and the District have Army ROTC units. Only two states, Alabama and North Carolina, and the District, have Air Force ROTC. There is no Naval ROTC for Negroes. Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and Kentucky are without even Army ROTC for Negroes.

THE ROTC program is a function of the land-grant colleges, having been established under the Morrow Act of 1862, which provided for Federal assistance in training in agriculture, mechanical arts and military science, in addition to the usual liberal arts courses.

The Negro land-grant colleges came along late in the nineteenth century, but ROTC programs didn't come along with them. And although the Morrow Act required it, there were no official units for many years.

Most of the fourteen existing units (two in Ohio and two in Virginia) have been activated since the war and the whole program reached only 5,200 Negro male students in 1952.

The most recent unit allo-

Limitations on Negro
Youth Severe Where
ROTC Is Concerned

cated to a Negro institution is that at Lincoln University in Missouri, which was established in 1950. But, since 1950, fifty-five new ROTC units have been allocated to white institutions.

NEGRO COLLEGES currently have twelve up-to-date applications on file in the Department of Defense; some have been pending for many years. Nor are the criteria for approval so stringent that the applicants cannot measure up. Many of the new programs since 1950 have been established in states which already have units, while in Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas, the individual Negro college youth has no ROTC training opportunity.

A few Negroes are in a unit at the University of Louisville, which is not a state college.

At the high school level, where junior ROTC programs are maintained, the limitations on Negro youth are even more severe. Negro high schools in four cities—Washington, D. C.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Kansas City, Mo., and St. Joseph, Mo., have the only units, although the junior programs, like the senior ROTC's, are supported by the Federal Government.

The South also has a profusion of private military college preparatory schools. The Army officers who supervise such military training are sent and paid by the Department of Defense. Yet in Washington, where the three Negro high schools have programs, the officers in charge are paid by the Board of Education.

PROPONENTS FOR the allocation of more ROTC units to Negro colleges have been caught in a hassle between the Department of Defense and the Office of Education.

Each agency refers the applicant to the other and in the ensuing administrative fog, both agencies escape fulfilling their joint and separate responsibilities.

Actually, the Department of Defense has the duty of accepting, investigating and approving applications. The Office of Education supervises

the allocation of Federal funds to the land-grant colleges. It ought to find that states like Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and Kentucky are not in compliance with the requirements of the Morrow Act and should blacklist all these state colleges.

If no Federal money were forthcoming, the dragging feet would step much more lively, perhaps even with military precision.

IN THE meantime, the day for trudging around from one departmental office to another asking for Federal crumbs is over. A little judicial relief appears to be in order on this matter.

A Fourteenth Amendment suit against the offenders calling for equality of programming would not only succeed,

but in line with recent Supreme Court decisions, probably would have Negro boys learning to drill with the white boys they are destined to bear arms with in so short a time.

PURSUIT OF DEMOCRACY

31a
By MARJORIE MCKENZIE

BEHIND the mixed comedy and tragedy of the State Department's series of book orders for its 189 International Information Service libraries lies a serious and novel problem. President Eisenhower's continuing explanations of his

Set. 1-11-53

SUR DIFFICULTY is not with the rule and its well-defined limits. It is rather that we have not yet worked out the relationship between freedom of speech and the threat of communism. The rule itself was born at a time of great political unrest and dissension.



Miss McKenzie

Do we or don't we have that freedom of speech and of the press which the First Amendment to the Constitution says shall not be abridged?

The constitutional rule is a simple one and, when read with the due process requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment, appears to place a prohibition on the Congress and on State legislatures which is clear and unequivocal enough for a child to understand.

DESPITE THIS plain language, the states have, in the exercise of their police power, defined situations in which freedom of speech might be curtailed; Congress has passed security laws abridging free speech which advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence; and, in addition, both state and Federal courts have approved these legislative steps as constitutional and have themselves laid down case law abrogating free speech which constitutes a clear and present danger of the security of government.

How free is the free speech which remains to us after this whittling-away process? Beyond the right of the states to license and regulate, beyond the supervening power of the Federal Government to protect us against the enemy, beyond the authority of the courts to

Behind the Mixed
Comedy and Tragedy
Of Book Burnings

National GRAPEVINE

31a Edge Of Reality

The Eisenhower patronage axe one of these walls would have fallen on the head of the first Democratic-appointed Negroes this week when Ann Arbor's ~~old~~ ^{wise} Hedgeman was given until May 13 to pack her four-year accumulations and make way for Jane Morrow Spaulding of Charleston, W. Va., who'll move into the newly-created Department of Health, Education and Welfare as assistant to Secretary Oveta C. Hobby. A lifelong Republican, experienced in social welfare work, no one could have a quarrel with the choice of Mrs. Spaulding from a status standpoint. However, there are two considerations in the picture which bear examination. One is how the summary ~~dismissal~~ of Ann Hedgeman squares with the civil service status she has. While it might be argued that the position she held in the former Federal Security Agency was moved to the patronage classification under the President's new Schedule C, it would appear an area for legal determination as to whether or not she forfeits her civil service rating or would now be eligible for consideration for some other non-patronage job in the Federal Government politics notwithstanding.

The other consideration is that of the President's race intentions. Any courageous advance in the racial employment field, it seems to us, would not to have been that of simply replacing Truman and Roosevelt-appointed Negro professionals. At best it smacks of the "methodism" that has characterized the Eisenhower administration in the few areas where they timidly have set foot during the nearly three months they've mainly gone through the motions of running the nation. There are many areas of federal employment yet to be invaded by qualified coloreds. To have cracked

National GRAPEVINE

31a Let's Face It

Despite rosy pictures painted by Republican-dominated daily newspapers, on the glories of President Eisenhower's first 100 days in the White House, Negro Americans had better examine the record in the light of their own welfare, and ~~Chum~~ as full of smudges.

The hardest blow has been in the area of housing where the low-rent housing program was thrown out of the window by an overwhelming vote of House Republicans. This was followed the next day by an end of federal rent controls on July 31, leaving thousands of helpless Negro tenants to the mercies of power-drunk landlords. The Senate still has to act on both measures.

According to the NAACP, more than 60 percent of the families who will be displaced by current slum clearance programs in 53 community redevelopment projects are colored. With the public housing program gutted, they'll just be urban oakies in the jam from a 20-year housing hope started by the Democrats under Franklin D. Roosevelt. And if you think the Repubs are unaware of the racial angle in this housing rap then you oughta know that they specifically cut more than \$17,000 from the racial relations section of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, where Dr. Frank Horne and his team have given yoeman service to helping keep America's one-tenth with a roof over their heads. The appropriation cut means the race staff will be divided in half. Even the Southern Democrats never had the nerve to aim a specific cut at housing racial advisors when they were riding the top of the Democratic wave.

Other than housing, Mr. Eisenhower, under his new security program, has supplied reactionaries with a made to order giul-

lotine to lop off the heads of ambitious coloreds who take at face value the equality implied in our democracy. And while the President took due cognizance of the many inequalities in the McCarran Immigration Act, he conspicuously ignored the discriminatory quotas awarded the British West Indies, while taking special notice of the unfairness levied against those of Polish descent under the strong motivation of the heavy Polish vote in a large number of close election Districts. And if this leaves you cold, when price controls went out of the window, coffee soared to a near dollar a pound, in case you're looking for one more for the road. And if somebody tries to pawn-off that end of Army school segregation on you as an Eisenhower gain, then search the Truman record for the answer. A good conduct medal is the Washington password today, Chum, so brace yourself.

National GRAPEVINE

Dems Getting Back In Saddle

While the recent election results are no longer news, still emphasized the Democrat spokesman. "This requires every citizen joining which is going on in zen to do his part." ~~Democrat~~ circles around the victory in most of the key cities and some ~~important~~ states.

The Republicans have kept fairly silent but are still keeping the faith.

The Democratic come-back in this off-year election has been interpreted by some as a test of the popularity of the GOP Administration. Others feel that it is no indication of how the drop will fall in the congressional election next year.

Neither of the Democratic Congressmen, William L. Dawson or A. Clayton Powell, could be reached for comment on the election results, since they were both back home casting votes. In the absence of Congressman Dawson, assistant to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, his assistant Mrs. Venice Spraggs took up the cudgel for her party.

Voters Unimpressed

Mrs. Spraggs pointed out that the election results seemed to her as an indication that, "that segment of the nation's voters whoes Williams, legislative assistant to Senator Herbert H. Lehman, turned out a very small vote comparatively speaking, said Washington, even in New York where Hulan E. Jack was elected as Manhattan Borough president.

On the other hand, Miss Williams, legislative assistant to Senator Herbert H. Lehman, turned out a very small vote comparatively speaking, said Washington, even in New York where Hulan E. Jack was elected as Manhattan Borough president.

"Of course, that is what the nation's Negro voters have known all along," continued Mrs. Spraggs "and accounts for the fact that overwhelmingly they remained loyal and voted the Democrat ticket in 1952. This election proves the maturity of their political judgement.

"The big job ahead is to extend

the gains of this election of 1954" the gains of this election of 1954" we cannot overlook the great re-

Politician Express Views

Val Washington, assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee agreed with chairman Leonard Hall that on paper the results look as though the Republicans are in trouble but actually, he said, this was no indication of what would happen in the future. "The congressional election is still a long way off," he emphasized.

Washington said he had talked with Negro Republican leaders all over the country and none of them seemed anyways alarmed. Most of them realize that the Republicans haven't got started rolling yet.

He claimed that the Negroes seemed not to play such an important role in any of the local election. Negro districts turned out a very small vote comparatively speaking, said Washington, even in New York where Hulan E. Jack was elected as Manhattan Borough president.

"The election of Hulan Jack can make history," said Miss Williams.

"As a member of the Board of Estimates for the city of New York he can see that Harlem is counted in. I'm sure that his record will not only justify the vote of confidence he has been given, but will be an asset to his party in the 1954 election. In his new responsibilities we all wish him well."

'Mr. Republican,' 'First Lady' Of Our Race

Attorney Perry Howard, national Republican Committeeman from Mississippi, who is often referred to as the "Mr. Republican" of our race, said he didn't think the so-called Democratic victory spelled anything.

"It is entirely too early" to judge how the congressional elections will turn out, he added.

Howard agreed with President Eisenhower that these elections were "mere skirmishes." Pointing out that they were "controlled entirely by local issues," the Mississippi Committeeman said he didn't think they meant much.

In commenting on the election, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, who was an active New Deal Democrat under the Roosevelt Administration, said it seemed to her that people have not quite decided on the results of the change in government. The trend seems toward strengthening the Democrat party rather than building up confidence in the Republicans who have just come into service. From this trend, she continued, it is hard to tell what will happen in the next two or four years.

Pointing out that she is "first of all an American," Mrs. B. said she is watching carefully the trend of thought and those who are struggling to carry out the American ideas and ideals whether they are Republicans or Democrats.

The roots for a rounded progressive growth of the people in this country have gone so far over a period of 20 years, that any definite thought in another direction may cause great consideration on the part of those who are thinking, declared the "First Lady" of our Race.

"The results of the recent election should give great encouragement to the Democrats and furnish food for thought for the Republicans," she concluded.

Judge William C. Hueston, an old-line, stalwart Republican and Grand Secretary of the Elks, only commented that the "election returns speak for themselves."

THE HORIZON

31a
By P. L. PRATTIS

LAST WEEK, we began re-production of a letter from Prof. C. H. Parrish of the Department of Sociology, University of Louisville. Dr. Parrish directed attention to the strategic position in international relations which the fifteen million Negroes in the United States occupy. But he expressed the fear that our concern with the "Negro problem" had fostered among us a "deadly" and "self-defeating" racial isolationism.

We continue with Dr. Parrish's letter:

"Negroes tend to be 'on edge' in the presence of white people; it is only when they are back beyond the ghetto walls that they are completely comfortable. There is a strong sentimental attachment to what are popularly known as 'our own institutions.' A racial orthodoxy has developed—sometimes referred to as the 'Negro party line'—to which all good 'race' members must adhere under threat of being read out of the party."

Parrish, P.
"APPROPRIATE myths have arisen such as the belief that the Mason-Dixon Line divides prejudiced from unprejudiced America; or that Southern white people are all 'crackers' who are trying to revive the Klan in order to keep Negroes 'in place'; or that all Southern Negroes are 'Uncle Toms' who have to be guided and supervised by their wiser and more militant Northern brothers."

"Aside from these and other similar isolationist distortions—and somewhat more serious—is the undeniable fact that the continuance of segregation and the consequent delay in the acceptance of the world-citizenship idea, means the perpetua-



Mr. Prattis

Some U. S. Negroes Have A Vested Interest in Continued Segregation

sition in power and prestige of some of the very people who have been most outspoken in their opposition to the separatist doctrine.

"As Frazier and others have pointed out, many Negroes have a vested interest in segregation.

* * *

"**THERE ARE** the proprietors of marginal Negro businesses who have managed to survive only because they have been sheltered from competition with whites.

"Also having a high stake in the continuance of segregation are the top administrative officers of Negro educational and religious organizations; the teachers in Negro schools; the publishers of Negro newspapers and magazines; 'first' and/or 'only' Negroes who have recognition quite out of proportion to their abilities; black major league ballplayers and 'high yellow' women; the paid officials of an ever-increasing number of race-relations committees and commissions; liberals, Negro and white, who have become so closely identified with the fight against segregation that they may not be able to adjust to a situation in which the fight is no longer necessary or appropriate.

"Perhaps the cream of this isolationist crop is that select group composed of the members of Negro fraternities and sororities.

"Most of these Greek letter societies came into being as a reaction to discrimination and they still retain much of the narrow racism that marked their origin. Paradoxically, although these college men and women have provided the intellectual leadership for the Negro Protest, they have at the same time come to constitute the anti-intellectual nucleus of the fashionable set in Negro so-called society.

"It is among this elite group that racial isolationism has its strongest advocates. Here are the 'B.-N.'s of various and

Negro (P. L. Prattis)

not to bettering race relations but to eliminating them.

"Do not mistake me. I do not believe that the millennium is 'just around the corner.' Nor do I believe that the impending Supreme Court decisions will automatically and immediately bring about a change in attitudes toward Negroes in the United States.

"But I do contend that to become citizens of the world we must begin to think in world terms rather than racial terms. We have got to revamp our point of view so as to take into account the technological advances that have occurred in the last few decades."

We have been pleased to reproduce Dr. Parrish's comments, inspired by his reading of Stringfellow Barr's "Citizens of the World."

"They know where they stand as half-citizens of the United States, but they are uncertain as to how they would fare as 'Citizens of the World.'

"The moral confusion of the Negro elite seems to me to be the major obstacle to their acceptance of the challenge of world citizenship. It is my conviction that the problem of integrating America into a world community and that of integrating the Negro into American society are not separate and distinct problems, but rather two aspects of the same problem. And the solution hinges, primarily, upon the achievement of a new perspective.

* * *

FOR NEGROES, what is involved is a transfer of allegiance from a racial group to the idea of world cooperation.

However necessary racial solidarity may have been in the past in order to give force to the Negro Protest and to counteract racial inferiority feelings, I believe that the time has now come when aggressive race-consciousness may be a serious handicap to the assimilative process. At some point, racial self-respect must give way to respect for the dignity of the human individual of whatever race or nationality.

"We should devote our efforts

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

WE continue this week the reproduction of the speech made by Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle before the conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Seventh Virginia District. Said Mr. Boyle, a white Southerner:

"I am afraid that most Negroes see the majority group as a white giant, deliberately oppressing them through will. But actually you are being oppressed by a white chile who is guilty of the unconscious tyranny of children. Your oppressor is not the ruthless, cold-hearted creature he appears to be, but simply a child, too ignorant and too inexperienced to grasp his own cruelty.

"When I first tried to escape from my white prison I found Negroes who helped me and Negroes who hindered me. Those who helped me treated me as though I were a lovable but not very bright child. They assumed that I meant well and wanted to learn, but that I understood nothing about the Negro or about the situation or about the promises which are made in our Constitution. They were right. I was completely ignorant of all these things and I did want to learn.

"THE NEGROES who hindered me assumed that I understood these facts perfectly, and that I behaved as I did simply because I was prejudiced and felt racially superior. These people wounded and bewildered me so much that if it hadn't been for the Negroes who were paternalistic toward me I would have shrunk back into my prison and would still be there.

"You might think that a white person would resent a paternalistic attitude from a



Mr. Prattis

White Southern Lady Sees Dixie as Being Ready for Integration

Negro. I assure you that if it is true paternalism—that is, if it's extended in love and sympathy—and is not mere hostile condescension, far from resenting it, he is deeply grateful.

"The person who helped me most was T. J. Sellers, who was then editor of our local Negro newspaper. He had started his career as a school teacher and he treated me exactly as though I was a first grader.

* * *

"HE EXPLAINED everything at least twice and gave me plenty of examples and illustrations. And he never forgot to give me encouragement and praise, and to tell me I was doing just fine whenever my slow comprehension grasped the most elementary truth. In my entire life I have never been so breathlessly interested in anything as I was in these perfectly elementary facts he taught me about Negroes and the condition of our American democracy.

"My attitude was typically Southern in all respects. One of the surprising things about white Southerners is their childish ignorance of all these things. Another is their childish eagerness to learn.

"The whole South is far readier for integration than any except a very few suspect.

"Through the efforts of the NAACP enough Negroes have already been planted in the white group to expand the thinking of white Southerners almost beyond recognition.

Awareness of the issues of integration is spreading rapidly in every Southern state. There are many examples of this large scale awareness, but my favorite example concerns a fight for brotherhood which was instituted entirely by white Southerners within their own group.

* * *

"THIS STRUGGLE began in June, 1952, when the board of Sewanee University in Tennessee, met to debate the question of whether Negroes should be encouraged to enter Sewanee's theological

at Sewanee at all.

* * *

"MEMBERS OF the NAACP too often think of its successes as drops of equality in a bucket of discrimination and to expect that many years will be required for the bucket to become full. But actually,

the work of the NAACP is like the broadcasting of seeds. Each seed springs up to bear many seeds of its own.

"A few lawsuits to admit Negroes to Southern universities have resulted in more than three dozen private colleges voluntarily opening their doors, just as Sewanee did. And every white school which admits Negroes gives thousands of white Southerners their first opportunity to know educated Negroes, and to hear the message they bring.

"I urge you to remember that not only is the NAACP the means of giving the Negro an opportunity for self-betterment, but also it is the means of giving them the opportunity of bettering the nation.

"We need Negro ambassadors to the white group who will explain the Negro's situation and his feelings toward it."

* * *

"SOUTHERN WOMEN'S auxiliaries protested against the decision and letters poured in condemning it.

"Church papers ran scathing editorials demanding a reversal of the 'unjustifiable decision' and a transplanted Southerner, now dean of a famous New York cathedral, refused an honorary degree from Sewanee on the ground that he did not wish to be associated with 'white divinity.'

"So the board decided to spend a year studying the situation and to vote on it again in the light of what they learned. They did this, and at their annual meeting in June, 1953, the issue was introduced once more. Believe it or not, when the votes were counted the result was seventy-eight to six in favor of integration.

"This clearly demonstrates the readiness of white Southerners to change once they really understand the facts and the issues involved. Please note, however, that if the NAACP had not won its suits to admit Negroes to state universities this issue would never have been brought up

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

Majority of White Sentiment
Is Hostile or Indifferent to
Negroes in the United States

A WHITE friend of mine, a gentle, Christian man, five miles from Chicago, near Ligonier, Indiana, asked me recently, somewhat plaintively, "Do you hate all the town of Ligonier, he had an accident in which has automo- and chicken houses which line the highways of the United States?"

He knew better than that bile was practically destroyed. The time was shortly after mid-night. But he had just read a column I had written and he was somewhat saddened by the fact that, so far as race relations, I don't see any "pies in the skies."

I know that progress has been made in race relations. Recently, I read a paper at Fisk University in which I detailed the forward steps in race relations in the last twenty years. I am so full of statistics on the subject of progress it out in the rain until help that I am prepared to debate it came from Chicago.

Ligonier is a small town, population 2,000, in Noble County, Indiana. It is in the heart of the United States. There are thousands of such towns in our country, though perceptible, is very small proportionately, and that they are. Any truthful Negro will admit that, even today, he can't trust himself, or feel confident, in any of these small towns, or even towns which are smaller or larger. Only in some larger metropolitan areas has the Negro been able to force acceptance on substantially the same terms as other travelers.

FOR THE most part, we have the same old white folk in the same old America. The court decisions and policies put into effect by local, state and Federal governmental authorities have been dramatic and effective, but none of these has really touched the heart of the average American white in such manner as to make him desire to accept the American Negro as a brother and fellow human being.

This was brought strikingly to light by an incident involving the pastor of the church of which I am a member. The minister is the Rev. Charles H. Foggie. While on his vacation he decided to restaurant on the highway they



Mr. Prattis

drive, with his wife, to Chicago. They are still afraid of being insulted at the thousands of refreshment stands, steak, fish

but the majority of them has not yet behaved in such manner as to make me trust or like them.

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

SINCE I BEGAN, last week, talking about our relations with our world neighbors—and the mistakes I think our American governmental lead- a city some four hundred miles away. The fastest train would

have taken me there in nine hours; actual flying time was an hour and twenty minutes.



Mr. Prattis

"THUS IT happens that there is no group in the world today that occupies a more strategic position in international relations than the fifteen million Negroes in the United States.

"They—perhaps I should say, we—are called upon to perform in a new and somewhat unfamiliar role: that of saving

America from her own folly. This means, particularly, continuing to an early conclusion the fight to destroy segregation in every phase of American life.

"But it means more than this. The novelty and strangeness of the role lie not so much in the things we are called upon to do, but rather in the reorientation of attitude that is required.

"The segregation fight now has taken on crucial world significance and can no longer be carried on as a purely selfish racial enterprise. It ties in closely, too, with the program outlined by Dr. Barr which induces a world view instead of a narrow nationalistic one.

"IF AMERICA once sees the real issue for democracy which segregation poses, it will be much easier to recognize and to accept the challenge of a hungry world.

"The accumulated savings over just a few years of relief from the staggering financial burden of segregation would go also, perhaps more significantly, a long way toward underwriting, because America is the symbol of freedom for men everywhere.

"The speedy elimination of segregation here in America, on the basis of Dr. Barr's analysis, would give a new ring of significance to our words about our reluctance to accept the equality and justice throughout the world. Now, it seems to thrust upon us by our new status in world affairs. This Negroes understand and ap-

preciate their responsibility and challenge in this new world setting.

"I fear greatly, however, that the prevailing attitudes of Negroes I meet do not give much hope for either early recognition or complete acceptance of the implications of Dr. Barr's exciting proposals.

"Long preoccupation with the 'Negro Problem' has fostered among Negroes a racial isolationism that is just as deadly and self-defeating as isolationism on the national level. The very efforts to break down segregation by law have served to promote segregation by free choice."

Dr. Parrish's letter will be concluded next week. It will tell how and why Negroes cling to a segregationist and racial isolationist point of view.

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

AS proof of the fact that I do not hate white people (although I keep my guard up all the time), I want this week and next to share with you a speech which was made by a Southern white woman before the conference of the NAACP branches in the Seventh District of Virginia.

Most of us realize that the key to democracy in this country, so far as Negroes are concerned, is to be found in the South. That is why it is important to recognize and work with all white Southerners who "shed the tradition of the past."

This speech was made by Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle. She is the wife of a professor of dramatics at the University of Virginia, a second cousin of the late Gen. George Patton, and a great-granddaughter of John Mercer Patton, one-time Governor of Virginia.

Pittsburgh
BOTH OF her grandfathers helped win victories at Bull Run, near which she made this speech forecasting a new day for the South. Mrs. Boyle is a first cousin of Dr. Stringfellow Barr, about whom you have read in this column. Now to Mrs. Boyle's speech:

"When Rudyard Kipling was asked to write a poem acclaiming the victories of England, instead of writing a song of triumph, he wrote a poignant warning that new moral responsibilities always go with victory. Every stanza ended, 'Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet, lest we forget, lest we forget.'

THE NAACP has virtually won its long fight. Although a great deal remains to be done, the snowball of integration is now so near the brow of the hill that just a few lusty shoves will send it over. Then what?



Mr. Prattis

"Why then, the real struggle will have just begun—the struggle to win the peace.

"American Negroes will shortly be faced with what is probably the heaviest responsibility ever laid upon a minority—that of realizing the brotherhood of man and the democratic ideals of our nation.

"For in America the light of these principles now shines chiefly through our Negro peoples.

* * *

"UNTIL THREE years ago I was a typical white Southerner, which is to say that I lived in an all-white world. Like most Southerners, I had the warmest feelings towards Negroes, but I accepted the status quo without the faintest realization that it was contrary to the principles for which we all stand.

"If it hadn't been for the NAACP, I'd still be in my white prison, for it was through the admission of our first Negro student to the University of Virginia, where my husband teaches, that I became aware that I was really in a prison, and that I might be able to escape.

"Listen carefully now, for this is important. The very first thing that confronted me when I stepped out of my white prison was the modern Negro's superior grasp of democracy.

8-1-7-55
As I began to know the educated Negroes in my community I realized that here are people who understand the American ideal much better than the people of my own group understand it.

"ALL THE struggles and agonies of the Negro have been like fertilizer and workings in the garden of their humanity. Stepping as I did from a group which has been kept childishly unthinking by easy living, I was confronted with the virile idealism and human understanding of most of the Negro leaders of today.

"The modern Negro has a firm grasp on American ideals which white America has not enjoyed since Jeffersonian days.

"Did you ever stop to think

Negroes Have a Firm Grip on Principles Of Democratic Ideals

that the situation of the Negro almost parallels that of white Americans before the Revolution? England discriminated against us and oppressed us in the same ways in which the whites now discriminate against and oppress Negroes.

"And the result has been the same. Negroes today are swept with a realization of the dignity of man, the rights of every individual and the certainty that brotherhood is the destiny of the human race.

* * *

"IT WAS the realization of these dynamic truths—a realization born of oppression and hardship—which gave to Jeffersonian Americans the spiritual brawn which made our nation great. The virility of this vision, however, has become sadly weakened in the white group. As our memory of oppression faded, the vision faded too. But, happily, there is one group of Americans to whom these ideals are still dynamic. Because our Negroes are oppressed just as our colonies were once oppressed, these truths have for them the powerful thrust which originally drove them into the Constitution of our nation.

"Negro Americans alone are in a position to understand what the fathers of our Constitution were talking about. White American are like protected children. Having always had their basic needs supplied, they give their attention to superficialities. The average white never thinks about the innate dignity of man because he has never had this dignity challenged. He has never even known a man who has had his dignity challenged. Since such a thing is completely outside of his experience, it cannot be for him a living issue. But when such a child-like white man is given the opportunity to know a superior Negro, for whom the dignity of man is a vital truth, this truth comes alive for this white man also. It's the same

with the principles of freedom, equality and the right to chosen pursuits. White Americans are not aware of the nature of these rich fulfilments because their experience has never included a lack of them.

"If the United States is to recapture a realization of the principles upon which she was founded, it must be with the help and guidance of our Negroes."

(To be continued)

THE HORIZON

Courier

By P. L. PRATTIS

Hillsburg, Va. a plantation near Augusta, Ga., in 1815. She died Jan. 11, 1904.

FROM my childhood days, I have enjoyed reading biographies, the life stories of men and women. I also enjoy reading the life stories of nations and cities which, I suppose, you call history in its most personal, and not too objective, form.

If you'll combine into one book the life story of a celebrated personality and of a celebrated city, you'll have a combination that will make me late for dinner every time.

My latest excuses for being tardy are the result of my absorption in the one-two punch of a combination city person life story. The city is San Francisco. The person is the famed (or notorious) Mammy Pleasant.

I started "Mammy Pleasant" because, from time to time during the years, my old friend, J. A. Rogers, had whetted my appetite for her story by feeding me morsels of information about this strange and incredible woman. It was difficult to believe that such a woman had ever lived and had wielded such great power.

Set. 12-26-53

Charleston, W. Va. His name was James Smith. Within a few years, Smith was dead and Mary Ellen had inherited his wealth.

THUS WHEN I ran into Mammy Pleasant's life story, written by Helen Holdredge and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, for \$4.50, I was ready for the bite. The biography of Mammy Pleasant, as written by Mrs. Holdredge, is what they call a well-documented story. It is based on newspaper stories, court records, Mammy's autobiographies, and the diary of a white woman who, for thirty years, was virtually the slave of Mammy Pleasant.

Mammy Pleasant was born a slave, of a white father, on a plantation near Augusta, Ga., in 1815. She died Jan. 11, 1904. She had enjoyed reading biographies, the life stories of men and women. I also enjoy reading the life stories of nations and cities which, I suppose, you call history in its most personal, and not too objective, form.



Mr. Prattis

Ex-Slave Girl Made And Squandered Millions In San Francisco

By P. L. PRATTIS

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them the famous "House of Mystery" at a cost of more than \$100,000.

Mammy made money in gobs and spent it in gobs. At some months later land her one time, she owed bills for at the new boom town of San Francisco de-

Francisco. At Valparaiso, apartment stores. Chile, a man, known as Thom- She started a slave and as Bell, had boarded the shipreached the pinnacle of fame and Mary Ellen met him and fortune. But, outliving all the field slave quarters, and They were to remain associ-her real friends, she was de- pose, you call history in its freed. Her new master took her to New Orleans and gave life. Bell became known as gotten and neglected by all- the benefit of a year's teaching in a convent. From California.

New Orleans, she was sent to San Francisco was a town Cincinnati to live, and be fur-which was attracting fortune ther educated, with friends of hunters, adventurers, escaped the man who had purchased thieves and murderers, a mot- ley assortment of other crimi-

nals, and women of not good AFTER THE death of her repute. It was into such a benefactor, she was placed town that Mary Ellen came. with a Quaker family on Nan-After the death of her first tucket Island. She spent her husband, she had married the youth with this family and, as Negro supervisor of her plan- would be expected, learned to tation, James E. Pleasants, do many useful things. after she had had a child by

The Quaker family was him. In the course of time, she broken up as the girl, Mary dropped the "s" on her name Ellen, reached womanhood and became known as Mary and she went to Boston to Ellen Pleasant, or Mammy work in a tailor shop. There, Pleasant.

Mammy's life really began. Her wealth, and that of For the next seventy years, Thomas Bell, estimated once during which she was to ac at \$30 million, was made from quire millions of dollars, she the operation of boarding was to live by craft and cun-ning, by behavior that was laundries, riding stables and, almost at one and the same principally, from stock market time, incomparably generous operation.

In San Francisco, she continued to work for the slaves and, in 1856, journeyed east with the intention of giving John Brown \$30,000 for his work. Impressed that Brown was irresponsible, she did not give him the money.

DURING THE last half of the last century, every great name in California history was associated with that of Mam-

Much of this wealth she ex- my Pleasant. Many of the pended in her activities with wealthy mine owners and poli- the Abolitionists and the Uni- ticians obtained their wives derground Railroad. She knew through Mammy Pleasant- and worked with all the fa- who took bad little girls and mous Abolitionists. In the late forties, she decided to go them. Then she found hus-

South, to Louisiana, and work bands for them. Her most celebrated bar- gain was a girl named Teresa Percy whom Mammy met that she might be caught, she when Teresa was 23. Ulti- mately, she married Teresa to Thomas Bell and built for

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

THOSE OF us who have been sawing away at this old race problem for many, many years, must regard with a sort of philosophical detachment the tendency today to exploit certain "name" personalities in the area of race relations.

The "name" may be celebrated in sports, entertainment, or some other worthy field of endeavor, but the owner of the name is qualified as an expert in race relations.



Mr. Prattis

May be the newspapers are to blame. Maybe the professionals, so-called, in the field of race relations, feel that the wings of a celebrated "name" will carry the message further than the endorsement of a comparatively unknown name. It may be that you have to speak to the public, and influence it, through somebody the public knows.

Thus it became popular

during the late war to seek the opinion of Joe Louis, the prizefighter, on matters of interracial concern. Joe was a young man who made his living by fighting in the ring. But ironically, he was exploited as an expert in race relations much more than such a distinguished student and scholar as Benjamin Mays or Frederick Patterson.

EARLY IN 1949, the nation was thrown into a dither by remarks attributed to Paul Robeson.

Robeson was supposed to have told a group in Paris that American Negroes would not fight in a war against Russia. I have never believed that. I was there and I did not hear Robeson say it.

Maybe my hearing was faulty then.

But, be that as it may, it seemed necessary to counteract Robeson's alleged declaration. Statements contradicting Paul were sought from many Negroes. At one point, a number of Negroes were called to testify before a Congressional committee in Washington.

One of those called upon was the distinguished sociologist and president of Fisk University, Dr. Charles S.

Johnson. Dr. Johnson must have made an important contribution, as he always does. For nearly forty years, he has been an earnest student of race relations in this country, as he goes. Jackie talks about to General George C. Mar-

mington and Memphis, the three white players, Branca, Hodges and Young, were left to sit on the bench. Law and custom were against whites and blacks playing together on the same field.

Jackie has made an explanation of the situation. In the first place, he admits he wasn't running the show. The guy behind the gun was Ted Warner. Both Jackie and Warner tried to reason with the authorities, but they got nowhere.

In a statement made to Milton Gross of the New York Post, Jackie defends his position and makes it sound very logical. It is logical as far as he goes. Jackie talks about to General George C. Mar-

keeping contracts and about shall, brings to mind again not stirring up a mess so that not only a sense of the importance and significance of political capital could be made of it by enemies of the Negro. He's on solid ground there.

BUT IT seems not to occur that the 1950 political capital could be made of it by enemies of the Negro. He's on solid ground there.

Turnabout is indeed fair play. Negroes have always insisted that fair play dictates

that the owners and managers of white teams should not make contracts, or honor the prize for

his skill in effecting an armistice between Israel and the United Nations.

Dr. Bunche was awarded the prize for

his skill in effecting an armistice between Israel and the United Nations.

White schools have re-

fused to play games when which surround the Jewish

republic.

Penn State insisted on using

its colored players in a Cotton

Bowl game in Texas.

Only a few months ago,

Negroes were blasting Arthur

Godfrey because he had gone

South and left the Mariners,

his mixed quartet, behind.

If the Brooklyn Dodgers

played in any city in this

country and left Jackie and

Campy off the team, for

reasons of color, Negroes and

whites would protest.

IT IS just as great an error

to keep white players on the

bench as to keep black players there.

Warner and Jackie were wrong on this one. They should not contract to play in cities where any players must be benched for reasons of race, color or religion. We hope Jackie will place this year's mistake behind him.

Let's have plenty of barnstorming, but let's have no more, under any circumstances, where players are discriminated against because they are white—or colored.

Would the United States be willing to submit to an honest, skilled-mediator? Would Russia? Or must we continue the uncertain struggle between these behemoths?

If one-half of what we say about our idealistic purpose is true and if one-half of what Russia says is true, I believe this basis of truth could form a foundation upon which a man like Bunche could work.

But the parties to the quarrel would have to submit (as the Jews and Arabs did). You could not have either power trying to push him around. He would have to be the boss. But is the United States prepared to submit to such neutral and impartial superintendence? Or Russia? Would our press and our patriots permit our government to seek peace by such sensible means?

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

ANNOUNCEMENT of the award of the Nobel Peace prize for 1951 to Albert Schweitzer and for 1952

General George C. Mar-

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THE HORIZON

Writer Challenges
Boast That 'It's
Good to Be Black'

By P. L. PRATTIS

31 in 700

SOME OF my friends who are writers have told me of their experiences with their publishers. In most instances, these writers have spun a yarn they wish to sell and have given the story an appropriate title — according to their point of view. But frequently the publishers suggest other titles, titles that will sell the book. I must presume these publishers are right most of the time.

I hope the publishers are responsible for the provocative, even somewhat sinister, title given to the most recent literary product of Ruby Berkley Goodwin's typewriter. In essence, Mrs. Goodwin has written a fairly readable and interesting story of some years of her childhood, centering it around her family (her father, principally) in the Southern Illinois mining community, Du Quoin.

The title of this autobiographical commentary is "It's Good to Be Black." If you're interested, the book may be purchased from Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, for \$3.50.

THAT'S THE kind of community in which she spent her childhood, with God-fear. There were many immigrant parents who thought their families in Du Quoin in Mrs. Goodwin's childhood days were as good as anybody else. Out of that experience and environment she has extracted values which convince her that "It's Good to Be Black."

AS LATE as 1950, the average Negro (black) worker regarded with contempt, even in the so-called Negro race. I have seen individuals in all races whom I admired.

AS LATE as 1950, the average Negro (black) worker was earning only 52 per cent as much as the average white worker. What good does it do the black worker to be black?

But I simply cannot buy black? Does the fact that he the slogan, "It's Good to Be Black." I think it's just as silly to boast about being black as to boast about being white. If Herman Talmadge wrote his life story and entitled it, "It's Good to Be White," I would think he was out of line. I'd call it grist for the mill of the white supremacists.

What good is it to be black, particularly for American Negroes? What good accrues from being black?

THE BIOLOGISTS and the anthropologists have all been telling us that color makes no difference, that it is a mere result of climatic factors. If I sell a book. There'll be thought that is so, and if dark color, sands of whites curious to or greater pigmentation, was see how a Negro (Mrs. Goodwin's picture is on the face and heat, how can one argue of the book) argues himself that, biologically, it's good to be black in temperate conclusion.

Indirectly, Mrs. Goodwin places herself on the side of those smug whites who are always gently suggesting to Negroes that they should be proud of their race (or color), that the whites is that they are frigid zones? The reverse I would like to know the exclusive (being proud of their color) and that Negroes biologically, black is good for win's book. should be exclusive — and



Mr. Prattis

thereby make segregation per the equator, it ought to be more and more of a handicap the further you are all for the closely knit Negro community with friendly, though peripheral, contact. What social or economic benefits, in the kind of society we are to believe her story, there is a special happiness to be found in which we live, come from being black? Would Mrs. Goodwin contend that the same percentage of black children grow, develop and prosper in these United States, as white children?

Would Mrs. Goodwin dare trace the acceptance of these immigrants into the American social and economic community in which she spent her childhood, with God-fear. There were many immigrant parents who thought their families in Du Quoin in Mrs. Goodwin's childhood days were as good as anybody else. Out of that experience and environment she has extracted values which convince her that "It's Good to Be Black."

I am a black man who is not ashamed of being black. I am just as proud of myself as a human being as any white, or other kind of man, could be. I have seen individuals in all races whom I admired.

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THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

THE Negro vote will be much more important in the 1954 elections than it proved to be in 1952.

Whenever a political contest is close, the Negro CAN be decisive. The contest in 1952, due to the popularity of the Republican candidate and the nature of the issues involved, was not close and the latent potency of the Negro vote was not felt. But that need not always be.

In 1954, the two parties will beat each other over the head for control

of Congress. Congressional elections are, geographically, local contests. In many of these "local" contests, particularly in rural areas, Republicans will have no great cause for alarm. But in the great metropolitan and industrial centers, they are going to have to shoot the works if they want to win.

THE NEGRO vote in the North, East and West is concentrated in the metropolitan and industrial centers of the cities.

12-5-53
The Negro vote is also concentrated in the Democratic party. If Republicans are to hold their own, or to win, in these centers, it is obvious that they must make a bid for the votes which Negroes now give to Democrats.

Although the percentages lopsidedly favor the Democrats in most Negro districts, the case is not hopeless so far as the Republicans are concerned.

It should be borne in mind that Negroes were rock-ribbed Republicans for the first seventy years after emancipation. They held fast to the dictum of the great abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, that "the Republican party is the ship, all else is the sea."



Mr. Prattis

GOP Performance Can Alter Political Allegiance of Negroes

THERE IS a solid segment of Negroes, generally the older ones, in most Northern communities, who have never been anything else but Republicans. They will die Republicans. They are mostly what you would term middle-class. They possess an important leadership potential politically.

Further, the switch of the vast body of Negro Republicans to the Roosevelt Democrats is clear proof that the Negro voter WILL go to the party which he thinks will butter his bread best.

He waits to see which way the wind is blowing. If he thinks the drift is in a favorable direction, he follows it. Thus, he did not go all-out for Roosevelt or the Democratic party in 1932.

The performance of the Roosevelt Democratic administration during the years 1932-36 (one of the most dramatic in American history) won the allegiance of Negroes at the polls in 1936.

The performance of the Eisenhower Republican administration will create the climate which will influence Negro voters in 1954 and in 1956.

The election results last month in Essex County (Newark), N. J., provided one significant example of the existence of a strong and exploitable leadership core among Negroes in the metropolitan centers.

Much to the dismay of New Jersey Republicans and to the leadership of the party nationally, a Democrat, Robert B. Meyner, whipped the Republican candidate for Governor and ended ten years of Republican control in the state.

Meyner won Essex County by 13,933 votes.

* * *

BUT THERE was a Negro Republican on the county ticket, running for coroner, who won and beat out his nearest Democratic opponent by 12,244 votes. The Negro Republican, John Dabney, one of the most popular morticians in

the East, received a total of 119,779 votes.

Obviously, many of these votes came from white citizens of Essex County and demonstrated their confidence in him. When Mr. Dabney was elected in November, it was for his third consecutive term.

The foregoing clearly demonstrates that there are competent Negro Republicans with vote-getting power in the big cities.

In local contests, such as congressional county and municipal elections, Republican party leadership must use them.

The wholesale hegira of Negro Republicans to the Democratic party between 1932 and 1936 emphatically proves that the Negro voter can be won over with the right kind of performance.

It begins to look as though both parties are engaged in furtively sweeping civil rights into a dark closet corner as a political issue. If that be true, the Republican party leadership must boldly and dramatically create some new symbol of hope for Negro voters, a symbol which through concrete expression and implementation shows the Negro that the bars to full and free citizenship are being consciously and positively destroyed.

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THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

WHAT is a dupe? An unwitting dupe? The questions are pertinent because so many persons who are victims of the political exploitation of patriotism are being considerably dubbed dupes. You may not have been a Communist. You may not have been a fellow traveler. You may not have been a Communist sympathizer. All you were was a dupe, an unwitting dupe. You were dumb and should have been smarter.

This writer began thinking about what dupes are and how they are made after Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Bishop demanded and was granted the opportunity to try to cleanse himself of some of the opprobrium with which he had been besmirched as a result of releases from the committee and "information" in its public files.

Bishop Oxnam can take care of himself and I am not greatly interested in him, except that I admire his robust, aggressive and socially conscious Christianity. I think he is one of the great, effective Americans of our time.

BUT SOME of the members of the committee who listened to Bishop Oxnam weren't quite willing to give Bishop Oxnam a clean bill of health. They were willing to admit he was not a Communist. They also admitted that he had no Communist affiliations. But he had had membership in some suspect organizations and he had lent his name (for letterhead purposes) to some others.

On account of this, some members of the committee shook their heads. They were not convinced that Bishop Ox-



Segregation Is Most Evil Handicap Imposed on Negroes

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

nam had not been an "unwitting dupe."

In essence, their attitude implied that the Bishop should have been smarter when he was younger, should have been more cautious in joining up and more restrained in lending his name.

It is this attitude, and its expression, which gives me concern. You have men and women (some, many, in Congress) who knew nothing about what life was like in the early twenties and thirties, who can't understand the difference in meaning of a membership or an affiliation in those days and of similar memberships and affiliations in these days. Because they never lived, or had meaning or importance, in those other days, they are able to step up to their betters in these days, point the finger, and say,

"You should have known better. We know you are a good American, but you were an unwitting dupe."

THE INSULT in such an expressed attitude is enough to make you want to slap the guy who takes the holier-than-thou position.

These smart alecks who are so proud that they are scot-free, don't know that history has a way of making dupes of the best of men.

In the twenties and thirties, you weren't being a dupe if you chose to join the Communist party any more than you would have been had you joined LaFollette's party. You weren't a dupe to be a Socialist, or a Prohibitionist, or even a member of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Americans were still free then and they did not hesitate to line up with the political party of their choice or to espouse any school of thought in which they believed. They did so with open eyes because they felt the course they followed was constructive and helpful.

The climate of opinion in the United States, shrewdly administered by politicians and business interests, has changed and

today, actions which Americans took freely twenty or thirty years ago, are dubbed gullible, even traitorous.

THERE WOULD be no point to going into this (there's nothing to be done about it), if it were not to remind the indulgent name callers of today, that a tomorrow is coming and that the climate of opinion may change again. Who can predict that twenty years from now some of the so-smug investigators will not find them confronted by a new set of accusers who will say that they were dupes in the early fifties? You never can tell.

Believe it or not, within twenty years, Russia, China and the United States could become the best of friends. It could happen. Then who would be the dupes?

IF AND when foreign nations object to American Negroes as Ambassadors and Ministers, it is not always because of color or prejudice. It is more often because of the low, second-class status of the Negro in American society. These nations don't want second-class citizens. Negroes or whites. Wendell Willkie found that out while visiting in the Near and Middle East.

One of the best ways for the Negro to alter the opinion of foreigners who regard him as a second-class citizen (because other Americans have taught them that) is to show himself intelligent and effective in the area of United States foreign policy. If the Negro had a clear and unmistakable voice, through his utterance and through his vote, in foreign policy matters, respect for the American Negro throughout the world would rise to a new level.

THAT IS one reason I have been trying to interest Courier readers in the foreign policy views of Dr. Stringfellow Barr, as written into his "Citizens of the World." This week, I have another important comment on Dr. Barr's book from Dr. S. Randolph Edmonds, director of the Division of Humanities at Florida A. and M. College. Dr. Edmonds writes:

"One of the most brilliant and one of the sanest statements of what the new United States foreign policy should be is contained in Stringfellow Barr's 'Citizens of the World.'

"Mr. Barr's book is a critical attack on America's foreign policy as being both inadequate and unrealistic. This statement is not to intimate in the least, however, that he is a narrow and shallow fault-finder. His book is far too logical and profound for that. His central thesis is that our present policy of the containment of communism is too narrow and too unrealistic. It is not broad and universal enough for a great nation thrust into leadership in our modern world.



Mr. Prattis

"TO BUTTRESS his argument Mr. Barr paints a picture of Russia and its satellites and the United States and its allies. In between these national giants are one billion six hundred million people—two-thirds of the human race. A large percentage of these people are sick, hungry and illiterate. Does our foreign policy appeal to them? Hunger and misery, then, are the chief twin evils of our modern world. Is our foreign policy aimed at eliminating them? Because Russia talks of economic justice, even if she does little, will she not capture the minds and hearts of these untold millions? How can such people rally to our negative policy of containment of communism?"

"Mr. Barr's advice is positive. He urges our country to forget the awful fear of communism and set up immediately—and help to make it a working reality—an International Development Authority dedicated to raising the living standard of underdeveloped countries. Many persons have repeatedly proposed that the United Nations establish such an agency; but the proposals have been vetoed by both the United States and Russia. Mr. Barr cites the TVA in our own country, and Israel as a young, growing country coping more or less successfully with vast problems as proof that this international Development Authority can work."

NO BRIEF review can possibly do justice to Stringfellow Barr's book. One has to read it thoroughly—perhaps many times—to get the full force and sweep of his brilliant and profound approach to the problems of our foreign policy. His viewpoint is fresh and stimulating. He prefers ideas to bombs and guns as the first step toward ridding the world of the apocalyptic four horsemen. The power of ideas is tremendous, something many of our unimaginative statesmen don't

We Should Work To Create Foreign Policy

seem to realize. And great ideas we must have if we are to wean the intermediate and hungry natives of Asia and Africa away from communism. Mr. Barr's book should be required reading for every U. S. Senator and Representative."

Are literate, educated Negroes doing any thinking about our foreign policy? Despite the vast expenditure of money and blood, we have won hatred in the Far East. All over Europe are signs urging the Yankees to go home. Only a few weeks ago, the President's brother visited a number of South American countries to give them assurances of our friendship and to keep them in line.

DOES ALL this prove that our foreign policy is correct and effective? It does not. It proves the need for a foreign policy that will make friends instead of enemies. It proves the need for a new look at our relations with our world neighbors.

This is as important to Negro Americans as it is to white Americans. The same challenge exists for Negro Americans, as for whites, to help create and implement a radically new foreign policy that will win respect and affection for our great country.

Dr. Barr's book shows that there are other ways to seek peace, happiness and friendship in the world than the ways that have been tried. Other ways will be tried if enough Americans make the demand. American Negro citizens should be thinking about these new ways and using their influence to see that they get a try-out in Washington.

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

There Is No Question
About the Fact That
The UNCF Is Justified

TEN YEARS of any program offers a valuable segment for study. It might be described as a third of a generation, or a substantial portion of the lifetime of a family.

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the United Negro College Fund. Has this fund proved itself? Is it necessary?

Why should you be asked to contribute to so-called "jim-crow" colleges? Will they be with us forever? Has this fund had a significance which carries beyond the interests of the college themselves?

There seems to be no question about the fund justifying itself. It came into being as the result of a realization by Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, Tuskegee, that high income taxes, et cetera, were about to drain the old sources of philanthropy. Despite the fact that people were making more money, they were not building the huge personal fortunes of a generation and a half ago.

SO, INSTEAD of obtaining large personal gifts from a few individuals for these colleges, it became necessary to reach the masses of people to obtain many more gifts even though they were much smaller.

In 1943, the colleges involved could raise only \$250,000 through individual fund-raising efforts. In 1944, in the first united appeal, the United Negro College Fund raised \$765,567 for these same institutions.

Through its first nine campaigns, the fund has raised ten million dollars for its member institutions, or more than a million dollars a year as compared with the quarter-million in 1943.

That ought to be justification enough. If there had been no United Negro College Fund, the chances are that the quarter-million dollars of 1943 would have dwindled to much less rather than have increased to the more than a million dollars that can now be looked forward to each year.

Continued



Mr. Prattis

IS THE fund necessary? The answer to that one is contained in these facts: The fund has enabled these colleges to maintain full accreditation, rather than a second-rate standing. It has given them the means of providing scholarship aid for qualified students.

It has helped to keep and secure more good teachers, to purchase up-to-date equipment for classrooms, science laboratories and libraries.

The United Negro College Fund has concerned itself with helping these colleges do a first-class job of training more than 23,000 students as of today, and with strengthening them for the future when they will be recognized as excellent colleges and universities for ALL qualified students without regard to their color, their race or their creed.

Why should you be asked to contribute to these so-called "jim-crow" colleges? Well, if these colleges had never existed, your parents and grandparents would never have had a chance for an education.

More college doors are open than was true a generation or two generations ago. But there are still thousands of Negro boys and girls, particularly in the South, who would not have a chance for an education today if these colleges did not exist. That will be true for some years to come.

AS LONG as our youngsters need these colleges, we must help support them. Some day the need will no longer exist. Some day they will not be operated exclusively for Negroes. Educational leadership in the South is moving closer and closer toward complete integration. There are white students in many of these colleges today. The leadership in these col-

leges wants to make them fit competitors when the bars of segregation are removed.

When you contribute to these colleges, you are not reinforcing segregation. You are helping to prepare them for integration when it comes. Everybody wants that.

These colleges, as private colleges for Negroes, will not be with us forever. They will change with the pattern of race relations in the South. Despite Talmadge and Byrnes, the movement is away from segregation. There are literally hundreds of Negroes in so-called white universities in the South today, but we still need our Negro colleges.

THE UNITED Negro College Fund has had significance far beyond the borders of the limited interest of Negro education. Just as gifts, large ones, from individuals were becoming scarcer for Negro colleges, they also decreased for white colleges.

Just as many white institutions took over the idea of industrial education from Tuskegee, the United College Fund appeal has been taken over by other American colleges and universities.

Since the United Negro College Fund was established, some twenty-four groups of private colleges throughout the country have adopted this cooperative plan.

But not only has the fund helped these institutions with their year-to-year operating expenses. It is well known that plants deteriorate and that capital funds are needed to keep physical plants in repair and expand them. It is for this reason that the fund is currently engaged in a five-year plan to raise 25 million dollars for new buildings and improvements.

That's something you can't laugh off. It's something of which you ought to want to be a part. It's an historic undertaking in which we, the chief beneficiaries, should want to share.

THE HORIZON

By P. L. PRATTIS

Remain Unimportant
If You Don't Want to
Be Exposed Some Day

ing committee of the notorious gress was born. She was not among its sponsors. She exerted no influence at its birth. Communist-controlled Civil Rights Congress, along with Paul Robeson and others. This organization was 'dedicated specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist party.' (Page 34, the Guide to Subversive Organizations.)

If this is the kind of philosophy which McElhaney and Mitchell uphold, then we doubt the wisdom of their being permitted to remain in their positions at the Ohio State University and Champion Junior High School because of their contact with so many of our young people.

As much can be said for Mr. Mitchell. This writer hopes that Mr. Mitchell, a fine, cultured gentleman, is proud of the fact that he sat on the platform with Mrs. Bethune and that he would do it again.

The shame of it is that forces exist that would seek the head of a man for such an act of courtesy.

MRS. BETHUNE'S name was used by organizations against which public sentiment was later turned because, in the depression 'Thirties, she was an important person. Many of those who would now condemn her were too unimportant then to be of value to any organization, Communist or not. They are sometimes gleeful because some persons have been smeared and they have not.

WELL, THERE you have it! A junior high school principal in Columbus, Ohio, and a student adviser at Ohio State University should be thrown out of their jobs because they sat on a platform at a meeting at which Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune spoke.

And what's wrong with Mrs. Bethune? She is said to have belonged to more than twenty so-called subversive organizations. So what? Maybe she did. But what did that mean? Did that mean Mary McLeod Bethune was disloyal to her country, or is a subversive? Indeed it did not!

All her life Mary McLeod Bethune has fought the good fight for her country, her people and her God. Nobody is going to frighten her out of that role—nor should she be frightened.

WHAT ABOUT her "masterminding" the Civil Rights Congress? That is a lie. This writer was in on the birth of the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit. He saw it spawned by the Communists and he has condemned it as a Communist device created to protect Communists behind the screen of civil rights.

The Un-American Activities Committee, House of Representatives, reports show that Mrs. Bethune has been a member of more than twenty organizations which have been cited as subversive and Communist. It is said that she was one of the "master-minds" of the initiat-



Mr. Prattis

TO GET at the point, I wish to make, let's read an editorial recently published in the Citizen, a daily newspaper published in Columbus, Ohio. The title of the editorial is "Guilt by Association?" and it reads:

"We are deeply shocked that J. Arnett Mitchell, principal of Champion Junior High School, and James H. McElhaney, assistant dean of men and adviser to the fraternities at the Ohio State University, should only sit on the platform when Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune spoke Sunday at the Spring Street YMCA, and also have their pictures with Mrs. Bethune published in the local newspapers. The Sunday meeting was sponsored by the alumni chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity.

But Mary McLeod Bethune had nothing to do with it. She was not around when the Con-

Negro (Robert M. Ratcliffe)

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

(Courier's National News Editor)

'Good Christian Girl' Is 105

WHEN Mrs. Mary Overbaugh of New York observed her 105th birthday last week, she credited her longevity to having been "a good Christian girl" . . . Gambling raids in Miami jailed over 100 small-time violators . . . Two important announcements from Los Angeles:

George A. Beavers Jr. elected chairman of the Los Angeles City Housing Authority and Herbert A. Greenwood named to five-man Los Angeles Police Commission.



Mr. Ratcliffe

State of Louisiana has awarded Southern University three new dormitories, a physical education building and swimming pool at a cost of \$1,425,000 . . . Fourteen Negroes in Baton Rouge, La., scene of recent anti-Negro bus strike, filed suit last week protesting Jim-crow laws

... The Liberian Legislature has adopted a bill to create, establish and maintain a Liberian Coinage System. At present, United States notes and coins are the predominant tokens used in Liberia.

Morehouse President Benjamin Mays delivered the eulogy at the funeral of Wiley College professor and noted mathematician Ralph A. Edmondson . . . Thirty consultants and 100 community leaders from twenty states are attending the tenth annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University . . . Memphians uneasy following hate-bombing of home recently occupied by Negro family . . . Detective Sgt. Edward S. Bolden, 48, has been promoted to lieutenant in St. Louis Police Department.

Bishop Gregg's Estate: \$72,342

An inventory of the estate of the late AME Bishop John A. Gregg of Kansas City, Kan., and Jacksonville, Fla., shows a total value of \$72,342 . . . Death of CIO's Paul Shearer at 44 shocked Ohioans as well as labor leaders throughout the country . . . U. S. Ambassador Edward Dudley is back in the United States after spending five years in Monrovia. Republican Jesse D. Locker of Cincinnati is expected to take over Dudley's post.

Former KKK grand dragon Bill Hendrix is now an evangelist . . . Dr. Matthew J. Whitehead is the new president of Miner Teachers' College in Washington, D. C., succeeding retiring President Eugene A. Clark . . . Six skating rinks in Philadelphia agreed to admit Negroes following protests.

* * *

Mrs. Mayme Williams of Miami, Fla., is new president of stars in a London opera.

the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers . . . Catholics of all races are invading St. Augustine's Seminary at Bay St. Louis, Miss., to receive blessings from newly consecrated Bishop Bowers before he leaves for his post in Accra . . . Mrs. Thelma Harris-Livingston is in line for a top school position to be created in Duval County (Jacksonville, Fla.) despite the recent elimination of the Supervisor of Negro Elementary Education post held by Mrs. Edna M. Calhoun.

* * *

Former LeMoyne Coach at U. of Pa.

Walter P. (Jack) Adkins, whose execution of the "spaghetti tangle" shift amazed spectators when he coached football at LeMoyne College and Fisk University, is attending a summer workshop at the University of Pennsylvania . . . Phoenix, Ariz., is his home base now . . . The wildcat strike staged by minority of Indianapolis Railways operators in protest to the hiring of four Negro operators was short lived.

* * *

Ace photographer Griff Davis, formerly of Atlanta, is quitting the Point 4 program in Liberia and returning to the USA. He is expected to blast the Point 4 operation in Liberia when he returns to these shores . . . Many leading Republicans resent Jet magazine's prediction that "Negro Republicans" will seek to have Frank Horne ousted from his Home and Finance Agency post because of "incompetence." Most forceful criticism of Jet's prediction came from Chicago's Alderman Archibald J. Carey Jr. who said: "Not all Republicans are joining in an effort to have Frank Horne ousted . . . personally, I think Frank Horne has rendered very useful service—and I would be the first to make it clear to anyone."

* * *

They ain't kidding when they say Eartha Kitt's recording of C'est Si Bon is terrific . . . And, what ever happened to that swell bandsman, Andy Kirk? . . . Chicago dining car waiter Andrew M. Jones was the only person hospitalized after a freight train sideswiped the Seminole Limited near Rantoul, Ill. . . . After serving seventeen years of a life sentence in the Illinois State Penitentiary for a murder he says he did not commit, Haywood Pugh, son of a Memphis minister, has been granted a new trial, giving him a chance to prove his innocence. The old conviction was set aside after friends throughout the country offered him their support.

* * *

GIs Have Name for Christine

GIs stationed at Musan, Korea, voted Christine Jorgensen "Miss Neutral Zone of 1953" . . . At least 200 Negro delegates were residents of Miami Beach (Fla.) hotels during the recent convention of the National Education Association . . . Cab Calloway will stay with "Porgy and Bess." Producers of the show hiked his salary.

* * *

Author and teacher Doxey A. Wilkerson wouldn't say "no" and he wouldn't say "yes" when Senator McCarthy's investigating committee asked if he is a Red . . . AME Zion Connectional Council and Bishops' Council is set for July 28-Aug. 2 in St. Paul Church, Cleveland, Ohio . . . Atlanta's Republican and Masonic leader John Wesley Dobbs hops the Atlantic in a few days to hear one of his talented daughters, Mattiwilda, when she

Pianist Dorothy Donegan was visited by the stork . . . Poro founder Mrs. Annie Malone will be honored on her fifty-third anniversary when the National Poro Association meets in Philadelphia, July 12-16 . . . Accused Mau Mau leader, Jomo Kenyatta, now serving seven-year sentence, is appealing the conviction in Nairobi, Kenya, charging errors of law in his first trial.

* * *

Congressman Adam Powell of New York predicts Eisenhower will establish a pony-sized FEPC to hold over the heads of firms doing business with the Government . . . Father Divine says he never authorized anyone in Atlanta to advertise that he would appear there in a baseball park.

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

(Courier's National News Editor)

A University Is Born

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—You don't grab a plane because you've got plenty of time to get from Pittsburgh to this beautiful city to witness the birth of a new university. So, you ride across the river from downtown Pittsburgh and board the ole reliable B&O on a Saturday morning and roll on to Washington, sipping fifty-cent beer and eating a \$3 dinner (the cheapest) before you reach the nation's capital.



MR. RATCLIFFE

you're in Jacksonville
takes you to Tallahassee.

You step off the train and find yourself a celebrity for here to meet you is the president himself . . . smiling, scholarly Dr. George W. Gore Jr., and his brilliant daughter, Pearl . . . and good-looking Charles (Chuck) Smith, capable public relations director for Florida A. and M.

* * * P. 13

So This Is Florida A. and M.

You're driven to Sunshine Manor, home of the president and his family, and there to greet you and show you to the guest room is that very wonderful person, the president's wife, Mrs. Pearl M. Gore.

You left the noisy newsroom of the Courier to be on the picturesquely, moss-draped and palm-lined campus of this sixty-six-year-old institution which is about to make history. You are here to witness the official ceremonies that will change Florida A. and M. from a college to a university.

So you take a tour of the vast campus just to see what makes this great institution tick. At present, it has a value of \$7 million, but by 1955 when all new buildings are completed, its value will jump to \$13 million.

New buildings are springing up all over the campus, a progressive sign. You stop by the spacious law school, the agriculture department, the engineering school and the school of pharmacy.

But, what really knocks you out, is the five-story, 105-bed hospital and nursing school, one of the finest in the South. The hospital has an interracial staff and serves the community as well as the campus.

* * *

New Page in Florida History

It's Monday morning, the day of the big event. First you attend a press conference, after a fine breakfast, of course, and quiz the energetic and enthusiastic Dr. Gore. You learn that Florida A. and M. is now composed of two colleges and six schools, which includes law, pharmacy, engineering, agriculture, nursing, home economics, education, arts and sciences and graduate work.

Arriving on the campus for the historic occasion are various college and university presidents and some of the state's top educators. They are here to take part in the convocation. The celebrated A. and M. band is in action and members of the ROTC stand at attention as the professional moves down the campus to the auditorium.

The auditorium is packed and the new \$62,000 organ is in action with Colonius Davis at the controls. There are the usual speeches and much praise is heaped upon Dr. Gore.

President Gore performs the duties of reading the law changing the college to Florida A. and M. University and a new shield is rolled onto the rostrum.

There is thunderous applause . . . and all of a sudden you are sitting in the auditorium of a new university.

Don't get the idea that Florida A. and M. College became a university overnight. This thing has been in the making for sixty-six years.

* * *

'Big Jake' In Action

Florida A. and M. long has been known for its powerful football teams and when you think of "The Rattlers," you immediately associate the A. and M. football machine with that outstanding coach, Jake (Mr. Football) Gaither.

You stroll over to the athletic building Monday afternoon to see "Big Jake" in action. You watch as he tapes sore muscles, as he pats his boys on their backs and gives them words of encouragement. You walk out to the field with the handsome and brainy man and watch as he moves among his assistant coaches who are busy prepping the boys for the Saturday night game in Jacksonville.

You listen as "Big Jake" tells you that "The Rattlers"

aren't too strong this year, that the team will lose a few games. But then you take a look at the big bruisers on the field you tell the coach to stop kidding.

It's a beautiful few days you spend on the campus of Florida A. and M. University . . . basking in the sunshine, enjoying the hospitality of the Gores, chatting with friends you haven't seen for years, making the rounds with public relations director Chuck Smith and rubbing shoulders with ladies and gentlemen of culture.

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

(Courier's National News Editor)

The Big Switch!

MIAMI BEACH, Fla.—Just a few years ago a Negro in his right mind never let the setting sun catch him in this fabulous city. He wasn't allowed in these parts after dark.

Special buses carried Negro domestics and workers back to the city of Miami at the end of each day. And, if you missed the bus, you stood a chance of getting your head busted by the cops and a thirty-day jail sentence on the road gang.

And, it was not too long ago that Jews were not accepted as guests in Miami Beach hotels.

Well, the Jews know what to do with a buck. They bought a lot of these beach hotels.

We spent a night in one of these hotels a couple of weeks ago. It is owned by a Jew. It is not a big place. Just seventy-five rooms. It's in a beautiful spot, overlooking a canal and facing some of the handsome mansions.

It's an off-season hotel and there are hundreds of them on the beach. Business is slack during the summer season. They make their money in the winter when the Northerners with money follow the birds to the deep South.

The National Negro Insurance Association had taken over this hotel as well as the Lord Calvert and Mary Elizabeth hotels, the latter two known as Negro hotels and located in Miami proper.

What Does It All Mean?

What's happened to bring about this sudden change? You sit on the patio of this Miami Beach hotel and watch expenses. Spending too much money for long distance uninterested whites pass by, you go into the hotel pool in broad daylight and take a dip, you go around the corner and eat dinner in a once all-white restaurant . . . taxicabs driven by white drivers are at your service. Yet, no

bombs, no heads cracked, no one call you nasty names.

When the Baptists held their national convention several weeks ago in Miami, their delegates were guests of at least a dozen of the smaller hotels on Miami Beach. And, white guests were living in two of these hotels at the same time.

What about the larger and more expensive hotels on the Beach? When the National Educational Association met here this year, its white and Negro delegates were guests of the No. 1 hotels.

So far, we've seen only two cases: Negro and white members of the same organization have been guests of the finer hotels on the Beach, and solid groups of Negroes have lived in the small Beach hotels.

So what happens when a single Negro asks for a room in one of these hotels during the winter season? That'll be the big test.

One hotel owner, a Jew, said: "I don't believe in discrimination and segregation. My hotel is open to Negroes any time. Just call me and make a reservation. This is going to be an international hotel."

Well, the ice has been broken . . . and the hotel owners picked up a nice wad of dough by opening their doors to Negroes.

* * *

On the Miami Scene

An air-conditioned, fifty-room hotel, and a \$million motel are going up in Miami. These new structures will cater to Negro tourists . . . Coca-Cola's good-looking Moss Kendrix was a busy man at the insurance convention spreading goodwill and pouring free cokes . . . Tall and blonde Mae Street Kidd of Louisville looking like a million dollars . . . Billboard Jackson still a big convention figure

. . . The Courier's John Diaz looking important and cool in his tropical attire . . . Ed Cook, the clever radio man in Miami, passing out drinks . . . Newspaperman Leon Lewis of Columbus, Charles A. Shaw of Houston and E. M. Martin of Atlanta were familiar faces in hotel lobbies . . . Busiest man at convention was A. D. Douglas, manager of Atlanta Life branch in Miami.



MR. RATCLIFFE

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(Courier's National News Editor)

31a news corner She Done Him Wrong ...

CLOTYE MURDOCK is a very attractive and a very nice girl. She is an associate editor of Ebony magazine. And, she is an excellent writer, too. She was rolling along smoothly in her journalistic work until she wrote that story about John Wesley Dobbs' daughter, Mattiwilda, marrying that Spanish newspaperman.

John Wesley, a man of loud voice and sound mind, has protested to Ebony and to nice Miss Murdock "concerning the very unfair method you took to exploit my name and reputation with your article in January Ebony about my daughter"

What Mr. Dobbs is really mad about . . . or worried about . . . is the caption on the story —"My Daughter Married a

White Man!"

Mr. Dobbs lives in Atlanta where white folks is white folks. Mr. Dobbs has lots of white friends in Atlanta and throughout Georgia and it isn't smart for him to boast that his daughter married a white man. It could be disastrous for Mr. Dobbs and his family. Only a crazy Negro in Georgia would boast that "My Daughter Married a White Man" and Brother Dobbs is not crazy.

So, just to keep the record straight, Mr. Dobbs sent his protest to Ebony and to charming Miss Murdock. Wrote Mr. Dobbs:

"I have no quarrel with your article as a whole. I think it is very well written except for one or two quotations. I positively did not attempt to stress the point that Luis Rodriguez was a white man. I stated to you that he was a Spaniard and explained that the Spanish people as a race are of mixed blood lineage. I



MR. RATCLIFFE

Pittsbrugh P. 13

Set. 12-26-53

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have no apology to make about the man my daughter married. That was entirely her own business.

"Your title to the article—"My Daughter Married a White Man"—is cheap and misleading. In the first place, I did not say it. In the second place, it suggests that I was either trying to brag about it or that I was ashamed of it. Neither suggestion is correct.

"I think your magazine owes me an apology and a retraction about the headline over the article."

31a 1953

By Robert M. Ratcliffe

Negro (Robert M. Ratcliffe)

Behind the Headlines!

TOPFLIGHT Baptist ministers from all sections of the country held a caucus in Chicago last Saturday for the purpose of agreeing on a man to succeed the National Baptist Convention's retiring president, Dr. D. V. Jemison. Looks like Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago has the inside track, but watch Dr. W. H. Borders of Atlanta.

Eight Europeans and more than 100 Africans have been killed by the Mau Mau, so-called terrorist group . . . Prince Hall Grand Lodge of North Carolina last week purchased the Logan Building in Durham at a reported price of \$125,000. New \$3 million Mercy-Douglass Hospital in Philadelphia will be operated as interracial institution, but majority of staff will be Negroes.

Acting on a 1950 U. S. Court ruling that Negroes may enroll in the graduate school of Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge, a Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel James, moved into one of the student houses on the LSU campus last week. But immediately after they took up residence in the cottage two windows in the house were shattered by bricks . . . Amateur songwriter and postal clerk, Lummie Fowler, now of Los Angeles and formerly of Memphis, was notified that three of his songs, "I Shall Return," "Ride Helen, Ride" and "One Night With a Fool," will be released this month on Chess and Checker Records.

Postscript
CARROLL HIGH School's new \$1 million institution for Negro pupils in Monroe, La., was dedicated last week . . . Morehouse College observes its eighty-sixth anniversary Feb. 8 . . . Handsome Capt. Percy Sutton accompanied the charred body of West Pointer Capt. Andrew A. McCoy to Pittsburgh for burial. McCoy died in plane crash in Italy. **2-14-53**

Daily newspaper, Detroit Free Press, this week hired Collins C. George, former Courier staffer . . . U. S. Supreme Court reversed 1950 decision of U. S. District Court in New Orleans which convicted Roosevelt Ward, 23, of draft evasion . . . New Orleans woman charged with drowning her 10-day-old baby because she was afraid to report the birth.

KKK cross burned on grounds of Carver Elementary School in Negro-dominated Bessemer, Ala. . . . Topflight leaders in Alabama called to Birmingham next Saturday for strategy conference . . . Dr. James O. Hobson appointed acting dean at Talladega College . . . National



Mr. Ratcliffe

Broadcasting Company announced from Los Angeles that its western division during past year has employed twenty-one Negroes, including an announcer and a broadcast engineer.

* * *

DEATH, CAUSED by a stroke, claimed the life of the Rev. E. H. Borden of Beaumont, Tex. He had served as editorial secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board . . . Uncle Sam wants \$36,000 from Joe Louis' ex-manager, Marshall Miles, for unpaid income taxes . . . 69-year-old John Whiteside, father of eleven children, who killed Deacon George Bradley in Asheville, N. C., Baptist church, drew a prison sentence of twenty-five to thirty years.

New all-Negro high school, valued at \$2,680,000, officially opened last week in Portsmouth, Va. . . . Too many dinner invitations forced Courier's woman's editor, Toki, to give up her diet . . . Paul Gardner leaves Courier editorial room this week for nice spot with Ebony magazine in Chicago.

Herb Wright, who has looks and ability, has been named assistant to sales promotion manager of Philip Morris and Company . . . President Eisenhower must have shocked our Democratic Congress when he said he would do all within his power to end segregation in the nation's capital. His statement was greeted with thin applause . . . Ten full days of Mardi Gras pageantry and splendor are under way in gay New Orleans.

* * *

THE COURIER'S veteran political editor, John L. Clark, has started his second family. It's a seven-pound girl . . . Detroit's popular disc jockey, LeRoy White, doesn't favor his also popular wife's divorce suit, but admits he's responsible for her actions . . . Dr. D. V. Jemison's retirement as president of the National Baptist Convention of USA, Inc., may mean the end of the machine that kept him in office.

Numbers players go for hunches. When a friend or relative dies they play 769. That's what happened in Cleveland, Ohio, the other day when numbers players found themselves with \$200,000 worth of "hits." When a very popular gent died, his friends, many of them numbers writers, passed the hat seeking donations for flowers. Everytime a numbers player gave a quarter for flowers, he'd say: "Here, take another quarter and put it on 769 for me." You know the rest, 769 was the pay-off number that day.

Mrs. Catherine Casey, who died recently in Hamilton, Ohio, was survived by twelve great-great grandchildren . . . The insurance industry leads all other groups of businesses owned and operated by Negroes in the U. S. At the close of 1951 the admitted assets of 226 companies exceeded \$162 million. At the end of 1951, Negro

insurance companies had issued 5,577,501 policies valued at \$1,250,000,000.

* * *

WHITE WAR veteran in Washington, D. C., sues blonde wife for divorce, charging Negro sportsman stole her affections. Hints he'll file suit against colored gentleman for \$25,000 . . . Friends last week congratulated Harry Watkins upon his appointment to Government post paying \$5,800 a year . . . Edward L. Jackson, recently ousted from his position as head coach of Howard University football team, has accepted a graduate teaching assistantship at Pennsylvania State College where he will study toward Ph. D. degree in physical education.

Negro parents in Daytona Beach, Fla., protesting short school hours for their children because of double and triple shifts caused by overcrowded conditions . . . Reports from Tampa, Fla., say Joe Smith Jr. and his 2-year-old stepson were forced to spend three hours in a jail cell after Smith had been nabbed for speeding.

It took two years for Rhee Sung Wu, 9-year-old Korean war orphan, to obtain clearance for passage to the United States to join his adopted family. Rhee Sung Wu was met in California last week by Capt. and Mrs. Sylvester Booker and their son, Paul, 8. Captain Booker adopted the 9-year-old orphan when the lad wandered into his camp on the Inchon riverfront in late 1950 . . . Mrs. Hilda G. Finney of South Carolina is now a member of the teaching staff at United Nations.

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE

(Courtesy National News Editor)

'Porgy and Bess' Baritone Star Fired

ST. AUGUSTINE'S SEMINARY, located in Bay St. Louis,

Miss., along the Old Spanish Trail and the scene, last week, of the consecration of the first Negro as a Catholic Bishop in the United States, is an interracial institution. Of the 100 or more students studying for the priesthood, seven are white.

* * *

Talented Philippa Schuyler renders a piano recital May 12 in New York's Town Hall and then returns to Cuba where she

has been invited to appear as soloist with the Havana Philharmonic Orchestra . . . Teenager June Elaine Hector of Atlanta must be fighting back a strong urge to hate white Americans. She won second place in the Atlanta American Girl Design contest, but when she appeared at a tea given for all winners she was told that the tea had been "called off." Miss Hector is a Negro. The other winners are white.

Continued

Mr. Ratcliffe

Baritone William Warfield is no longer with the cast of "Porgy and Bess." He has been forced out of the New York production. Warfield will continue to receive his salary for five weeks.

* * * P. 13

Two Negroes were killed in train wreck near Dillon, S. C.: E. M. Adams, an attendant, and M. A. Jenkins, a waiter. Dr. Robert K. Gordon was one of the rescue workers . . . Three Negro legislators, John W. Green, Walter V. Lay and LeRoy Tyus, drew criticism last week for being absent when the FEPC issue came up for discussion on the floor of the Missouri House. They contend the bill up for debate is too weak . . . Bulldozers are being used to smash homes of Mau Mau followers in Kenya.

Fourth Wife Sues West Coast Doctor

U. S. Judge Holtzoff has ruled that segregation of races is not illegal. NAACP's Thurgood Marshall said the judge's decision will be appealed . . . The fourth marriage of Los Angeles' Dr. Lincoln W. Shumate has hit the rocks. Pretty wife, Ikalina Savoy, has sued for divorce naming a white woman as co-respondent.

May 5-2-53

Baritone Robert McFerrin of New York has been admitted to the Metropolitan Opera's training school . . . Has the Ku Klux Klan gone blackfaced? Joe D. Poe, Birmingham (Ala.) steel-worker, said he was beaten and kicked by black-hooded men—and he said his attackers had dark skins.

* * *

Negro teachers in Osceola, Ark. have been voted \$200-a-year salary increase . . . Lockjaw proved fatal to 6-year-old Florence Mae Smith in West Memphis, Ark., despite use of \$300 worth of drugs . . . Republican Gov. George N. Craig of Indiana has appointed Milo Murray to State Prison Board, Forrest Littlejohn to Boys School Board, and Dr. Joseph Casey to State Reformatory Board. State Senator Robert Lee Brokenburr and Atty. Wilbur Grant are members of the Governor's personal committee.

* * *

Miss Mattie Mae Wilson, 27, of Chicago, reported in custody of police in an Arkansas jail after being accused of the hit-run death of an 80-year-old Brinkley (Ark.) man . . . Bishop Charles Mason, senior prelate of the Church of God in Christ, with headquarters in Memphis, Tenn., has elevated his son-in-law, Elder J. O. Patterson, to the bishopric . . . Student leaders at State College in Orangeburg, S. C., are protesting the firing of Coach Lawrence Simmons.

* * *

Two Insurance Companies in Court

Two of Florida's largest insurance companies are in court. A hearing in the civil suit filed by Afro-American Life against Central Life was held last week in Jacksonville. Afro contends that after buying several hundred shares of Central stock from disgruntled Central stockholders, Central refused to record the stock acquired by the Afro. Central contends that Afro obtained the stock illegally . . . Announcement that Lincoln University in Chester, Pa., is going to operate interracially reminds that Bennett and Talladega Colleges already have white students.

* * *

Knoxville (Tenn.) lawyer, George W. McDade, and white co-ed Beulah Boston have been bound over to the grand jury. The couple was arrested March 13 in the young woman's apartment . . . Mrs. Jackie Robinson will receive the Interfaith Mother's Day Award May 4 . . . Former A. and T. College students Ruby E. Troxler and Leslie James Davis were married on "Bride and Groom" TV program April 22.

* * *

Fire destroyed 113-year-old Grove Baptist Church in Portsmouth, Va. . . . Kentucky Negro Education Association has dropped the word "Negro" from its name . . . Rare African tribal art works on display at Howard University Art Gallery, May 6-10 . . . Bill aimed at banning Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina killed by State Senate's 20 to 18 vote . . . Bishop Frederick D. Jordan is flying with his wife to Southern Rhodesia where he will find it necessary to set up headquarters for the AME Church's Seventeenth District since he has been denied admission to the Union of South Africa.

* * *

Negroes are being trained to operate street cars and buses in St. Louis . . . Arthrell Dupree, North Carolina College student, has been awarded the \$1,200 Reed Brown Scholarship . . . Negro candidates have entered municipal elections in twenty North Carolina cities . . . The African Fruit Company, owned by German capital, has set up a plantation in Liberia . . . Summit (N. J.) will not have a segregated YMCA after May 15 . . . Friends last week buried Mrs. Fanny Amith who died at the age of 121 in Marianna, Ark.

* * *

Bridegroom of One Day Paralyzed

All-Negro town of Lincolnville, S. C., observed its sixty-fourth

anniversary Sunday . . . The Rev. W. L. Dozier, 53, became a bridegroom one day last week. The next day he was paralyzed from the waist down, result of a bullet fired into his spine by a neighbor . . . War veteran Henry Chaney, who lost the use of his legs five years ago, is operating a successful poultry farm in Macon, Ga.

* * *

Dr. Florence M. Read, retiring president of Spelman College Atlanta, will deliver commencement address at Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C., June 1 . . . 1953-'54 budget of \$491,150 approved for Bennett College in Greensboro, N. C., and an addition of \$170,000 to the college endowment announced by Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church.

* * *

Commencement exercises are set for May 11 at Alabama State College in Montgomery, Ala. President H. Council Trenholm will award 254 degrees . . . 50-year-old bus driver Willie Brown drowned when small fishing boat capsized on Lake Washington near Greenville, Miss. Indianola (Miss.) high school principal was pulled to safety when high wind overturned boat . . . All-white jury freed Abbeville (La.) Negro accused of raping white woman.

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

"PORGY and Bess" had tremendous success in Europe where it was sent by the State Department as an offset to Communist and other anti-American propaganda. Some American writers said it did show Europeans that Negroes are not the oppressed people they're made out to be.

But there are many, who for years think that the race question being what it is that Porgy is positively harmful. They will agree with James L. Hicks, Negro newspaperman, who calls it, "the most insulting, the most libelous, the most degrading act" perpetuated against Negroes in our times.

"This disgraceful felony against a race of people which is struggling to hold its head high," he adds, "is further compounded by the fact that our U. S. State Department selected 'Porgy' as a show to which it gave its blessings."

Porgy does great harm because it perpetuates a stereotype out of which when a Negro simply wild over it. The audience steps he looks like a freak to Mr. Hicks thinks they applaud because "it's the traditional role which some white people have set aside for colored people since the first days of Uncle Tom. It's the role of the ignorant, happy-foot, lust-loving, crap-shooting clown—and Porgy has them all."

Why the applause? Is it chiefly because of the very fine singing? For the answer we'll have to go further back than Uncle Tom—to colonial days when Negroes furnished most of the laughter and gaiety and of which James Parton, white historian, wrote long ago, "What a debt we owe the jolly, amiable, irrepressible, indispen-



Mr. Rogers

HICKS WONDERS, too, why forty-eight of them pictures, "forward-looking" Negroes who are indignant when they are identified with brawls and cutting in crap-games will sit beside white people and rock the York, N. Y.

Lots of whites are fed up with themselves. I once over-well, too. Should sordid commercialism dominate always as to a Negro composer, "I'm in Porgy?"

we should have is balance. Since so much of the seamy side of Negro life is played up in movies, plays, books, why not give some of the more elevated sides? Lots of whites are fed up vating side and advertise it as with themselves. I once over-well, too. Should sordid commercialism dominate always as to a Negro composer, "I'm in Porgy?"

As an offset to Porgy and whiteness." Carefree characters as in Porgy who "have mentioned by Mr. Prattis, I

plenty of nothing and nothing recommend the latest "Negro is plenty for me," and who can Year Book" got out by Tuskegee Institute, which gives an abandon is a release to the imprisoned souls of such whites. true one of progress in all

And in the writings of white fields, medicine and health, sci-

psychologists as Bloch, Tridom, ence, art, music, literature, edu-

Wulf Sachs, MacCrone, and cation, sports, labor, housing,

Jung you'll find in some cases heroism, etc., not only in words,

but in pictures. It is by far

a deeper and more intimate reason. What it is I needn't say.

information. It has 424 pages, and more than worth its price \$3.95. It is distributed by the Educational Book Co., 37 West Forty-seventh Street, New York, N. Y.

cafters with cheers when whites hire Negroes to do just those things. Answer: They're not only repressed, too, socially, but in many ways they're only black on the outside. A blind man who didn't know their color would take them for the average white American.

IT IS now showing again in New York and audiences go type out of which when a Negro simply wild over it. The audience steps he looks like a freak to Mr. Hicks thinks they applaud because "it's the traditional role which some white people have set aside for colored people since the first days of Uncle Tom. It's the role of the ignorant, happy-foot, lust-loving, crap-shooting clown—and Porgy has them all."

I RECALL when vaudeville was not complete without burlesque of Jews and Irish. Both were cut out as defamatory. The Negro remains, however. In a recent New York play, "Midsummer" maids (white) picketed the theatre because they held maids were being held up to ridicule.

Personally, I'm not for over-sensitive censorship. We can get too thin-skinned. What

Porgy and Bess Draws Further Criticism as Insulting to Negroes

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

31a

LET ME preface what I'm going to say with this: I hate violence and injustice to any people, regardless of color or religion. I love peace, harmony, and brotherhood so much that I don't even like the use of angry words.

But what to do when there is a drive against one; and when if one does not submit meekly, violence is used against him? Should he still keep his hands to his side? or should he defend himself in whatever way he can?

Take the Kikuyus. They were in their country. The whites came in, took away their lands, and reduced them almost to slavery. Some years ago when they assembled unarmed and asked for justice, the whites read the Riot Act to them and when they didn't disperse fast enough, fired on them and killed hundreds.

SUPPOSE IT were black people who had invaded a white land with superior death-dealing weapons and suppose the whites had formed a secret society to kill the black oppressors, where would the sympathy of the white world be?

Or if the oppressor were even white and treating other whites as whites are now treating Kenya natives? I give two historical examples. When John Brown, tired of the temporizing with slavery, attacked Harper's Ferry, he was regarded as extremist as a Mau Mau.

Robert E. Lee, great friend of slavery, was sent against Brown. Brown was hanged. But later, Lee, the hero, became the villain; and Brown, the vil-

History of Oppression is Running True to Form In War Against Kikuyus



Mr. Rogers

down like mad dogs.

The New York Times, which in recent years has been writing fine editorials on the race question, condemned the Mau Mau and said, "There is no police or military measure that keeps within recognized bounds . . . could be too strong to use against terrorism."

Who began the terrorism? And are not the police but tools of the white terrorists?

On April 18, 1953, bulldozers flattened the homes of 7,000 Africans because it was believed they were sympathetic to the Mau Mau, precisely as the Mau Mau destroyed a Kikuyu one because they believed they were friendly to the whites. The 7,000 Africans were driven homeless into the wilds.

ROBERT RUARK in the N. Y. World-Telegram (April 17) says of Jomo Kenyatta, "It's a pity they didn't hang him for the bloody murderer he is." Well, they hanged John Brown as a bloody murderer, didn't they?

Thomas Gregory, Attorney General of the United States, said in 1906: "Did the end aimed at and accomplished by the Klan justify the movement?"

"The opinion of the speaker is that the movement was fully justified, though he, of course, does not approve of the crimes and excesses incident to it."

Glorification of the Klan was complete with the movie, "Birth of a Nation." Why? Racism had taken the place of the emancipating spirit of the Civil War even among Northern whites. They believed that the Klan with all its brutal murders, even of other whites, was saving the white race. And a recent case was the revolt in Palestine.

HOWEVER, WHEN black people, with very primitive weapons, do what they can to drive out, or make uneasy, a ruthless oppressor, that's different. They deserve to be shot

whose ox is gored. Communists are charged with plotting to overthrow the government. Suppose McCarthyites were to get out of hand and butcher them and their sympathizers, how would millions of anti-Communist Americans feel about it?

I deplore the killing of white women and children by Mau Mau as well as that of their own "Uncle Toms," but the history of oppression since the Pharaohs has run to no other form. And it's going to have no other.

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

WHAT will happen if the Supreme Court kills the Jim-crow school? For one thing, many will lose their jobs. Less schools, less teachers, and so on, will be needed. Negro teachers fear they'll suffer disproportionately.

And so it is. Whenever an improvement "threatens" or an evil is corrected, not only the chief beneficiaries of the evil but its victims are in fear. Instances could be cited galore. The spinning machine, the railway, sewing machine, automobile, and movies with canned music, were all opposed because they demanded less hands. But every one of these in time brought higher wages, better living conditions.

The same with slavery. What were the masters going to do? And some of the slaves? Elbert Hubbard told of a delegation of slaves who begged Lincoln not to sign the Emancipation Proclamation as they wouldn't know how to live.

WHEN JIM-CROW schools ended in New York, Negro teachers also feared. Today, however, Negro teachers are plentiful there.

Change is inevitable. In fact, it is the one and only thing we can be certain of. It is the only everlasting truth. Therefore it's the wise individual who adjusts himself to it.

The Jim-crow school is bound to go, sooner or later. Tallmadge and Byrnes can no more save it than their kind could save slavery in the 1860's. In fact these fellows remind one of the story of the bullfrog that tried to stop an express train. He puffed himself out to the full. But the train ran right over him, leaving only a grease spot, which the sun soon dried up.

THEIR KIND, through the centuries, highlights evil and



Mr. Rogers

'Blackism' Doesn't Answer 'Whitism' Because It Helps Defeat Its Own Purpose

Negroes center their attack on the woman, seeing that if they were in her place, they'd be similarly treated. They reveal that kind of twisted thinking which is the biggest handicap to racial advance today.

Murder happened. No one who takes human life, except in absolute self-defense should go unpunished. Intelligent people, I feel, do not make a color issue of that.

In fact, I found the whites more friendly to blacks than were the blacks there to the whites. Most of the blacks were in the colonies and they couldn't forget how the whites back home had treated them. Some saw color prejudice in every little check they experienced in Europe.

This attitude, which I call "Blackism," brings me to what I've been seeing of it in most of the letters on the Ruby McCollum case in the Courier.

They are a documentary. Some revealed a savagery as bad as that of the whites involved. What stirred such Negroes was not the taking of human life but that some race mixture had gone on, and with a Negro woman who had some money.

Now nothing has been more common in the United States than the mixing of white and black. And for more than three hundred years. During that period white Southerners have absorbed an enormous amount of "black" blood, and the blacks an even greater amount of white blood. I maintain, therefore, that it is only those who are ignorant of what has gone on, or the mulish, who can still be surprised or indignant at miscegenation.

WHAT REALLY happened in the Adams-McCollum case has happened innumerable times. A woman killed a man who deceived her.

Had both parties been white, or been colored, the story would have rated at best a few paragraphs. What made it news was that if the man had killed her, he, being white, would have been acquitted or gotten a light punishment, while the woman, being colored, was sentenced to death.

That being the case when

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

NEGROES have been trying to advance himself and what is now the United States for over four hundred years. In 1936, when, without his knowledge, he was named as

State Senator.

Elected, he was re-elected to three more terms. Today, energetic as ever, genial, public-spirited, he is head of the Metropolitan Funeral System Association, which started as a burial insurance company but was organized in 1947 by act of the Legislature as an industrial life insurance company, which it now is wholly.

It is housed in a modern and handsome building erected in 1949 entirely by Negro contractors and workmen at a cost of \$130,000.

Its assets are \$1,165,000; U.S. Government bonds \$375,000, and it has paid to its employees

\$2,400,574.

The latter now number 250. In the matter of mortgages to Negro areas refused by banks and white companies, it has been most helpful. Its present loans to such total \$655,936.

Mr. Diggs also built a number of other businesses—undertaking establishments, ambulance and motor-car services, headed by his son, also a State Senator, and a fine flower shop managed by Mrs. Diggs.

PROOF OF THIS struck me on a recent visit to Detroit. It hardly seemed the same town as regards Negroes that I saw in 1921.

Fine homes, thriving businesses and greater civic pride. In proportion as race consciousness decreased among the whites, Negroes increased in self-respect, industry and civic and national pride. Detroit Negroes are rather proud that they, too, are a part of "The Motor Capital of the World."

Talk with almost anyone and he'll tell you that the single individual who has done most in helping to bring this change about is Charles S. Diggs Sr.

ARRIVING IN 1912, he started at the bottom, doing whatever was permitted Negroes then — dishwashing, bellhop, bus-boy.

Striving ever upwards, he went in for shoe-making, carpentering, undertaking, ever

Detroit Is a Better Town for Negroes Now Than It Was in 1921

seeing that "we are taking out and giving back," that we're out, first of all, to serve, and they are giving us increasing support. "We are not stressing race," said Mr. Jones. "Our only aim is to be good American citizens."

Metropolitan also has a radio program of which Senator Diggs Jr. is commentator; a choir, conducted by Marvin DuPre, and its team (I forgot to note what sport) won the Detroit Times championship in 1953.

One other thing impressed me. When I said I was going to write about the association, E. Earthmon Fort, director of concerns in the city. So, of

Government bonds \$375,000, them next week.

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NEGROES, THEY said, are becoming more economic minded, more and more they are

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

SAM POPE BREWER in the New York Times magazine, Nov. 1, confirms what I recently said about alleged communism in British Guiana.

He says, "Few, if any, of the sugar workers comprehend what communism or any other political system means."

Henry Hopkinson, British Minister for the Colonies, who went to investigate, confirmed that, even as regards the party in power. He said, "Ninety per cent of the People's Progressive party members have not the faintest idea of what communism is."

The Latin-American press, even of pro-Fascist Argentina, feels the same. LaPrensa of Buenos Aires calls it "alleged communism" and says "the use of troops and abrogation of the Guiana charter were totally unjustified."

IT IS important to remember, too, that about 1923, that is, long before the word communism, was even heard in the United Nations, recent making a total of two billions of dollars were fighting an enemy pose even a tenth of 1 per cent of that (\$2 million) had been spent in improving the movement of the sugar workers. They had formed a union communism, namely "hunger," that they hadn't time to think of communism.

Living conditions among the workers are awful. Brewer says they live under "Tobacco Road" conditions. Yet even in Tobacco Road, broken-down jalopies were not unknown. These people live on an even lower level. Their homes are incredibly foul, rickety shacks of corrugated iron rusting to pieces."

He quotes one English newspaper, "In England if you kept pigs in there, the Farm Board would take them away from you." It was believed that a devil had taken up residence in his

The Present Monomania About Communism Robs Us of Common Sense



Mr. Rogers

twenty-five cents an hour, or body and if you thrashed the \$12 for a forty-hour week patient hard enough, the devil But some have to spend four hours a day going to and jump out from the job, making it a twelve-hour day. The cost of monomania on communism is living has gone up there, too. There is much sickness due to unsanitary conditions, chief- say on race), it blocks off or- mally malaria from drinking bad water, so many can put in right! We fear communism— only two or three days a week.

A FRIEND of mine who knows conditions there well tells me, "The real cause is backyard, so to speak, where economic misery caused by the very conditions which we low wages, high taxes, and high cost of living. Not only are told breed communism in in Guiana, but in the British West Indies a violent anti-almost nothing about it. British feeling is growing.

"More and more the people are disgusted at hearing the national anthem, 'God Save the Queen.'

"They view her and the Union Jack as a symbol of their oppression. In some quarters the feeling is racial, but it is might yet return to plague the whole anti-imperialist us. If spent in the New World, it would not only be for the same reason that the United States revolted against Britain and the Latin-American

can lands against Spain and France."

Madame Pandit, president of the United Nations, recent making a total of two billions given for there alone. Sup- wars to suppress a dia were fighting an enemy pose even a tenth of 1 per cent of that (\$2 million) had been spent in improving the movement of the sugar workers. They had formed a union communism, namely "hunger," that they hadn't time to think of communism.

Much the same is true of the lands south of the Rio Grande where the great affliction is poverty.

Therefore, a correct diagnosis is important.

IN OUR present monomania about communism, we think the atom bomb is the best curse just as in the Middle Ages when one was sick and had the hell beaten out of him.

It was believed that a devil had taken up residence in his

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

THE MONTGOMERY (Ala.) Advertiser said recently that DuBois and Robeson had given "their loyalty to Russia" because of their treatment here at home. Those of us who look into all we're told

say, "If they have, so turned against their native turned against their native of something they didn't like?"

I recall when the cry was against William Waldorf Astor. Astor, multi-millionaire, transferred his loyalty to England. He thought America too crude and vulgar. More than

That spent in Europe and a few American heiresses quit en to her. Remember 1933, dead from the jawbone up."

she gave another \$400 mil- by, now in France, said he might be back when he's around eighty.

On the other hand millions of the discontented of other lands have come to America. The Pilgrim Fathers are a noted example. Irish migrated here in droves because they detested Britain. The USA has even a quota of anti-British Negroes from the West Indies. Robeson and DuBois, therefore, are being quite discontented, not only fight. But go too far and some will snap back. Why should human beings be expected to do

THERE IS this thought that must be admired about Du-

Bois, Robeson, Ben Davis and others. They are not taking have "traitorous attachments," it lying down like 90 per cent and that Robeson received of other Negroes. Ben Davis the Stalin Prize, "an award is in prison. The \$25,000 Sta-

there is tyranny in Russia—Robeson has sacrificed. As for tyranny based on ideas. Amer-DuBois, he has fought with- ica has tyranny based on col-out letup for over half a cent- or of skin. You can change your ideas, or keep your terminated as ever. Some day mouth shut. Color is with you when truth gets a hearing, no matter what you do. Du-America, regardless of color, Bois, Robeson, or any other we will honor them.

Negro would have no trouble in Russia as long as they didn't disagree with Communism. In America, on the other hand, there's no much with creatures like Jim Crow for you even if you shout your Communism. Uncle Toms, Byrnes and Talmadge as with right color of skin. Byrnes and Talmadge yell against communism, but they'd yell perately for their jobs. Talmadge, on television, recently, white Communist writing was pathetic, a backwash up with the most loa- the rising spirit of the age. As I listened to him predict-

And right here, I'm reading the world evils that would be abolished in his little corner of the world, I said so much of secrets being given to myself, "That fellow is 1933, dead from the jawbone up." He'd be a pushover if only 20 per cent of Negroes united and were abolitionists. Perhaps if good white folk, against him. And they'd get something about this country folk would have paid her no mind.

lie in blind love or admiration If, as as alleged, DuBois for Russia or any other land. and Robeson have sold out to As Schopenhauer said, "When Russia, few Negroes will like you fly from the bad ways that. After all, we live here of one country, you fly to the Russia is far away. And most different, but equally irritating American Negroes, even withing ways of another." Of Russia's lack of color preju- course, that's not always true. dice, wouldn't like living there. But as things are in the world for various reasons. France today, it's true of the United States. And I speak as one who has been around a bit. Yet I have seen Ameri- British Negroes from the West Indies. Robeson and DuBois, therefore, are being quite discontented, not only fight. And what more can one merely human. Dogs are supposed to have no self-respect. But go too far and some will etc.

But go too far and some will etc.

THE ADVERTISER adds that Robeson and DuBois others. They are not taking have "traitorous attachments," it lying down like 90 per cent and that Robeson received of other Negroes. Ben Davis the Stalin Prize, "an award is in prison. The \$25,000 Sta- from a tyranny." Certainly, lin prize is picayune to what

Nothing Unusual in Robeson, DuBois Desire to Fight Against Lost of Self Respect

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

WHY ARE some Negro communities more progressive than others, especially in business? The usual answer is that the least progressive ones suffer least from Jim Crow, that is, too much freedom. Which is nonsense. Do enslaved people have greater ambition than free ones? Of course, a certain amount of opposition is necessary for progress, but any undue restriction as Jim Crow, retards a people, regardless of color.



Mr. Rogers

When I get an answer of this sort I think of four cities I know well over the past forty years—Boston, Chicago, Detroit, New York. In 1908 Boston was the most liberal city for Negroes in America, with Chicago a close second. New York then was worse than Washington now is. New York is now the least Jim-Crow city in America, but like Boston it is far behind Chicago in business progress. Chicago then, as I said, was much freer than New York.

CHICAGO, AS I knew it in 1909, was backward, and no better than New York then. I lived there till 1921. When I returned fifteen years later, I was amazed at the commercial progress Negroes had made.

Whole business sections, once run by whites, as Forty-seventh Street, had been taken over by them—fine stores, restaurants, insurance businesses, movie theatres, etc. I spent a week there this month and was even more astonished at the progress made since 1936. Miles and miles of fine businesses and homes on the South Side east of state.

What brought the change? The flood of Negro migrants from the South in World War I. With Jim Crow and oppression

Amazed at Commercial Progress Negroes Are Making in Chicago

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

Christian Church in U. S. Is Greatest of Our Jim-Crow Institutions

lifted somewhat from them in Chicago, they expanded. Moreover, migrants of any color are usually some of the most progressive in spirit. That's why they got out. The new environment, too, gives the migrant a change of psychology. He sees opportunities the old-timer doesn't. That's one big reason why the white immigrant gets ahead of many Americans, white and colored.

ONE INSPIRING sight to me was the home of the Chicago Defender. I knew when its founder, Robert S. Abbott, used to scout around and practically carry his office in his pocket. Most Negroes couldn't see him then. What did news about themselves amount to? The Defender building is a monument to what a lone black man with vision and push can do.

Chicago Negroes, it seems to me, are more friendly and cooperative than those of New York. They are probably more progressive culturally, too. In my own case, everywhere I appeared I was made to feel as if I had really done something.

Atty. William Henry Huff gave a reception for me at his home and my welcome there was immense. At the Frontiers, members of which are some of the leading businessmen, I was given an ovation. Those businessmen recognized the inspirational value of Negro history. They bought every book I had there, some of them the whole set.

The president of the Frontiers is William Hammond executive secretary of the Ada McKinley Settlement House. These folks read the Courier all right.

EVERWHERE I went folks seemed not to be able to do enough for me. Space permits mention of only a few: Dr. Jay J. Peters, arbitrator for the Illinois Industrial Commission—Workmen's Compensation—and insurance broker; the Rev. Ross D. Brown, 9325 S. Park Avenue, militant pastor and

author of "Afro-American World Almanac" and "Color and Kinship"; J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of Parkway House; George A. Blakey, assistant attorney general of Illinois; Mrs. Jeanne Donaldson Dago, president of the Chicago chapter of the National Council of Negro Women; Eugene Shands, who arranged a special meeting for me at the new YMCA; F. H. Hammurabi, Century Service Exchange, very active in the dissemination of the history of the black man, who arranged meetings for me in gated cities of the Lincoln Center and the South and Quincy Club; Robert Roberts when prejudiced Roosevelt College, who took dice was me on an extended trip through the Negro neighborhood and also through the college, and Ted Coleman, manager of the Chicago office of the Courier, and his staff.

One gathering that took me back to the old Chicago days was a breakfast given at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Marco Killings, prosperous pharmacist, for the survivors of those of us who led the fight for equal rights in Chicago in the 1910's. At that time, we spoke on the streets, in the parks and at our regular Sunday forum. At the breakfast was Chandler Owen of the old Messenger magazine which did so much to spur us on then.



Mr. Rogers

RECENTLY while in Miami, Fla., looking through the notices of the Sunday services, I was struck by one very different from all the rest. In that city where Jim Crow rules, this notice said that all races were welcome and that tea would be served afterwards.

"There are Baha u'llay has said that of the various colors of human kind one is white, one is black, one is yellow. This difference lends a harmony of color and beauty to the whole. Therefore all must associate with one another even as flowers consort harmoniously in a given garden."

BAHAI, PRINCIPLE and practice, shines today like "a good deed in a naughty world." Outside of Europe, a cardinal principle of the Christian church, is that there's something wrong with a black skin. The European, free from color prejudice at home, went centuries ago into all these dark men's lands—Africa, Asia, America, Australasia—and thanks to a pale epidermis and backed by superior death-dealing instruments, set up a color-line for the robbery of these people.

At the same time he was very religious, his whole language being couched in Biblical terms, and viewed with utmost horror those who didn't believe in God and Christ. A present striking example is Malan's Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa and the Christian church in Kenya and Tanganyika.

As for the Christian church in the United States it not only backed slavery but generally speaking it is now the greatest of our Jim-Crow institutions, even in the North.

I OFTEN wonder what would happen if such Christians instead of repeating like parrots such phrases as "I believe in God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth" and all flowers, the utmost delicacy, therein, were ever to stop and beauty and radiance. Each one think what they are saying, I through difference lends a feel sure that if they were charm to the other.

"The diversity increaseth tice against precept they'd see their charm and addeth unto like Wendell Phillips, that their beauty. How unpleasing "Color prejudice is rebellion to the eye if all the flowers and again God." Christ said that if plants, the leaves and blossoms, you do not love your fellow-fruits and branches and the man whom you see and know

how can you love God whom you have not seen at any time?

But even worse than the religious aspect is the intellectual aspect of the whole thing. To say that the color makes the man is sheerest idiocy—a truth

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

Some months ago I pointed out that in the movie series, "This Is America," John Kinzie, white, was shown as the first settler of Chicago instead of Pointe DuSable, a Negro, even though a tablet erected by the DAR names DuSable as the builder of the first house. Kinzie came later and bought DuSable's house. Here is another important incident in American history in which a Negro led and recognition has not been given. It is the centennial postage stamp of the State of Washington. This stamp shows a white man, a white woman, an Indian and a covered wagon. Let it was a Negro, not a slave, but of some substance, who led the first party of white people to Washington and made it possible for them to exist there. This man's sons and grandsons contributed greatly to the growth of the state, too.

HE WAS George William Bush (1779-1863), born in Pennsylvania, who went to Missouri and later roamed the Northwest as far as the Pacific Ocean. Returning to Missouri he told of the fine lands and organizing the party set out in 1844. All others were white, except his two sons, whose mother was German-American born in Tennessee. After eight months of hardships in their covered wagons they reached Puget Sound and Bush and his family settled on 640 acres of fine land.

I quote now from what white writers on Washington history say. J. W. Ayer, who knew the family, says in "George Bush the Voyageur," "The history of the northwest settlement cannot be fully written without an account of George Bush, who organized and led the first colony of American settlers to the shores of Puget Sound . . . He was a Negro . . ."

"Mr. Bush was a farmer and

A Negro Led First Party
Of White People to
State of Washington



Mr. Rogers

having brought as much livestock as possible, he at once broke up some of the best of the open prairie. He was so successful that in a very few years his farm was the main source for grain, vegetables and fruit for supplying the newcomers in that region. Let me say in passing that his memory is honored to this day among the early families for the fact that while at times the only man in the country with food, he would never take advantage by raising the price nor allow anyone to buy more than his needs during an emergency." (Washington Hist. Quar. Jan. 1916, pp. 40-45.)

BUSH, IN his earlier exploration, had made friends with the Indians, his dark skin helping, so the white settlers under his care were never molested by them. But after all he had done, here's what happened. In 1848 Congress had organized all that land, including Bush's, into "The Oregon Territory," and had barred all Negroes. Later white settlers, jealous of Bush, tried to oust him under that provision. His friends, however, came to the rescue, and finally had Congress pass a law granting him title to the land and permis-

sion to remain. (American Guide Series: Washington. Revised ed. p. 488. 1950.)

Bush's sons were prominent, too. One, William Owen Bush, was State Senator and the leading wheat farmer, not only of Washington, but of America. At the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, he won first prize for the world's finest wheat (see his picture in my *Sex and Race*, Vol. 2, p. 374).

One of Bush's grandsons is mentioned in H. K. Hines, Illustrated History of Washington, p. 378, as follows: "John S. Bush, a member of one of the oldest and most prominent families of Washington, residing near Olympia, is a typical son of the West, possessing all the vigor and determination so characteristic of those who have assisted in building up great commonwealths on the Pacific Coast . . . He comes of old American stock . . ."

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

OF WILLIAM Owen Bush, he says: "He received the gold premium at the Centennial Exposition for the best and largest yield of wheat ever exhibited in the world."

Now, would it not have been fitting to have Bush, the pioneer, on that U. S. stamp? the most enlightened counter knew of his "race." Of the many histories of the state I've looked through only Ayer and the U. S. Guide Series mention it. I'd wager, too, that not one in a thousand educated Negroes know it, either.

Why? If historical facts were not of value, would so much money be spent in telling them? And if they are valuable to white people, why not to Negroes also?

I wonder if those who talk so energetically about "making the world safe for democracy," ever stop to think of how can they reform the whole world with its maze of differing customs, religions and laws when even in

the United Nations certain essential reforms have little or no chance.

I'm thinking here of the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights, part of which reads, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." A very fine ideal, I'll say.

Our Declaration of Independence with its call for liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is fine, too. But it was for whites only. Blacks continued in slavery its treaty-making along and eighty-nine years later. The said only, "With your Article 16, the whole thing is a wash-out."

Now it strikes me that since Article 16 would kill the Declaration deader than a dodo, Secretary Dulles could have saved himself the over 8,000 words he used in objecting to Blacks continued in slavery its treaty-making along and eighty-nine years later. The said only, "With your Article 16, the whole thing is a wash-out."

AND THERE'S the rub. It has been before a U. S. Senate committee since 1948. Now Secretary Dulles has just announced that his administration will not sign any treaty ways. President Eisenhower on human rights dealing with "People everywhere," he said, genocides, treaty-making, and "are seeking freedom to live the political rights of women . . . to seek and find the truth. But wait. He omitted the real stopper, beside which all the rest would be pie to the Senate. It is Article 16, which reads, "Men and women of full age have the right to marry . . ."

Right here we have a provision which has always blocked a very much needed reform in the USA, namely, marriage and divorce. Twenty-nine and a half marks her debut as a young aristocrat rather than a child prodigy who since the age of three has amazed the music world. As reform or unify marriage laws a child, she won the Gold Medal in music of the City of New

United Nations Article
On Mixed Marriages
Is a Real 'Stopper'



Mr. Rogers

have failed signally. Some forty years ago, Senator Capper of Kansas tried to clean up this mess. He had no luck; nor has anyone since. Would UN Article 16 have a better chance?

Among those objecting to the provisions on marriage in the first draft of the document were Chile and Russia. Chile wanted it out; Russia wanted it stronger. The Soviets proposed adding, "The racist practice of forbidding mixed marriages between persons having the same citizenship but differing as to color," etc., etc. Of course, that right for me to note that about Russia, but I read it in the UN Yearbook.

Concert

THE UN, attacked, changed it to "... deplores all legislative measures which forbid mixed marriages between persons differing as to color . . ." But it got over its fright and ended with the stronger Article 16.

Now it strikes me that since Article 16 would kill the Declaration deader than a dodo, Secretary Dulles could have saved himself the over 8,000 words he used in objecting to Blacks continued in slavery its treaty-making along and eighty-nine years later. The said only, "With your Article 16, the whole thing is a wash-out."

The UN Commission on Human Rights recently met in Geneva. The USA, through its representative, Mrs. Lord, urged the commission to give the same objective in other areas of the world today there is subjugation of peoples by totalitarian governments which have no respect for the dignity of the human person . . .

Are Jim-crow and marriage race, nationality, or religion, restrictions on account of color have the right to marry . . . also totalitarian, or aren't they? NOTE TO New Yorkers: Philippa Schuyler gives a concert at Town Hall, May 12. It states in their constitutions for marriage of whites and Negroes since the age of three blacks. Result: any attempt to unify marriage laws a child, she won the Gold Medal in music of the City of New

York; the first prize of the New York Philharmonic eight consecutive years, and for the same period that of the Piano Teachers Guild and others. When the Detroit Symphony offered prizes for the best young composers in the two Americas, she walked away with first and second prizes. Her prize-winning "Manhattan Nocturne" was played by the New York Philharmonic and others. In all of this, she has been a pioneer so far as "race" is concerned. She has made eight successful tours of the West Indies and Central America, winning the very highest praise. To the piano, in her own compositions as well as in the masters, she brings something fresh, something electrifying. Please go. It will be an evening of sheer delight and you'll be showing appreciation of one of the greatest pianists of our time.

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

PRESIDENT Eisenhower, according to report, appointed Roy Tasco Davis, white, as ambassador to Haiti because all three of the colored Americans cleared for the post have been turned down by Haiti because of color.

I have every reason to believe it's true. And Haiti is not alone in this. Two other Negroid lands, Ethiopia and the Dominican Republic, are known as not wanting Negro ambassadors, either. Liberia has one. But she's in the position Haiti was when she accepted Negro envoys as C. E. Bassett and Frederick Douglass. She was only "the Black Republic," then.

Why is this? It cannot be that Ethiopia, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic believe that an ambassador's worth should be measured by his color. All three have had some very great black men. And Haiti and Ethiopia send black ambassadors for this. The political power here. Furthermore their leaders know that American Negroes are, on the whole, much further advanced than their own peoples.

ANSWER IS: First, it would be segregation, an American policy which these peoples represent. Second, since the American Negro is marked down in his country, they regard the third man in political rank as a slap at their own prestige. A black man, they feel, also, does public. And Haitians, of course, not have as much influence as a white man.

Parallels to this can be found in the American Negroes themselves. Tell them, for instance, that Jesus was originally known as a black man and perhaps most of them would resent it. In Europe, I saw with my own eyes, white people bowing down

American Negroes
Must Build Better
Reputation Abroad



Mr. Rogers

to black Christs and Madonnas in Italy, France, Spain, Germany and other lands. While in Barcelona I went daily to a church on the Ramblas to watch if a people is known to be this. When I told this to American Negro audiences it wasn't relished.

After the meeting at a church in Cleveland and where there was some stir over this, a friend said to me, "You're fixing to the bad side is intended, to no break up the Negro church to little extent, as depreciation of cause if you tell Negroes Christ America much as we used Hitler. If he was black, they'll feel he can't let's treatment of the Jews do as much for them as if he against Germany. Even racist were white." Of course, this leaders of South Africa point holds true of most English out that they've never lynched speaking Negroes of the New black people. Malan recently World. After centuries of white said that blacks were better domination and training they're treated under him than in white inside and black outside America. and the white inside looks down on the black outside.

THE AMERICAN Negro, though far more advanced educationally and economically than any other black or mixed people, and even some white European ones, has little standing. Live abroad for any length of time and you'll realize this. His prestige is much below that of the French West Indian or the Haitian. And there's reason

for this. The political power of the American Negro is almost nil. He fills not even a third rate political position in his own land. The 571,219 Negroes in the French colonies of the New World have far more political power than the nearly 17,000,000 American Negroes.

French Guiana, with only 29,000, has as one of its number as president of the French Senate, the third man in political rank sending of one to them as a post that usually leads to President of the Republic. A black man, they feel, also, does public. And Haitians, of course, not have as much influence as rule themselves.

One reason, too, why the American Negro has no prestige abroad is that his treatment at home is over-emphasized there. He is pictured (and this not only in Communist lands) as a down-trodden, despised creature. Some three years ago the Crisis gave a resume of what some 500 Euro-

ROGERS SAYS:

By J. A. ROGERS

British Attitude
To Mixed Marriages
Fits Appeasement



Mr. Rogers

HERE are some happenings that greatly interested me since I wrote last: The marriage of Joseph Appiah and Peggy Cripps. As seen on television and newsreels, it was a rear society affair, with whites and blacks harmonizing as human beings ought. The couple is going to the Gold Coast to devote their lives to the people there. At the same time in London though is a white Seretse Khama, also married to a white girl.

I don't wish to excuse Haiti, but I think the objection is not so much color as lack of prestige. A parallel is the woman ambassador, white or black. Few countries, if any, care for one, however able. The Italians accepted Mrs. Luce only because they had to.

If American Negroes want to be accepted as ambassadors, they must build a better reputation abroad.

Malan, British exiles Khama.

ROGERS

He Finally Goes Down South, and Despite His Phobias, Had Some Fun

By J. A. ROGERS

I'VE BEEN visiting the South since 1911, but have never felt at home there.

As long as I'm among colored folk it's all right—they are usually friendly—but among the whites I'm not only ill at ease, but I feel unsafe thinking



Mr. Rogers

around, I want to be around them even less.

In short, the South is the last place I would pick for a holiday. Thus, when telegram came recently inviting me to spend a few days in Florida all expenses paid, my immediate thought was not to accept—that is, until I saw from whom it was then I knew I would gladly go. It was from W. W. Wachtel, president of the Calvert Distilling Corporation.

I KNOW Mr. Wachtel as a long time fighter for civil rights. I had read his "Discrimination: An Economic Waste." I know that he makes some thirty addresses a year to businessmen and others urging them to give Negroes more and better jobs, and that, best of all, he practices that himself.

He has raised funds for the Urban League, the United Negro College Fund, the drive to get Negro athletes on the Olympic team, and has high-salaried Negroes on his staff as well as others in his office and his plants.

In 1953, he was given the George Washington Lawyer Gold Award for "working in the

interests of the brotherhood of man." *Det-1-31-53*

In 1951, he decided to include Negroes in the "Man of Distinction" series of his corporation. The telegram said he was taking all of us since chosen for a jaunt to Miami.

I DECIDED to go by rail instead of plane and was given a Pullman room on the crack "Florida Special" with instructions to have whatever I wanted on the train.

At Miami, all of us stopped at the Lord Calvert, a very modern hotel with fine suites and built in Spanish style with patio and swimming pool. Cadillacs and hoodlums beat. The next day, launches took me up. Of the party fishing. Some actually course, I know caught fish, one man, twenty-all the whites two, some weighing ten pounds. aren't hostile. The next evening we left for and that some Ciro's at Miami Beach.

are on my side. Ciro's is one of the swankiest still I feel very night clubs in that paradise of alien. As much the rich. The day before at the as they don't races we had to go to the Jim-crow section and at this night club I expected we'd be set somewhere far in the rear.

But no, the twenty-two of us were placed in the very center at a table that ran almost the entire length of the place. Waiters and everyone were just as fine as they could be.

We had a wonderful dinner and fine entertaining, including singing and dancing by the Five Redcaps and Damito Jo. As for the other guests the only surprise they probably showed was at the number of camera men snapping us.

THE NEXT day, I saw old man Jim Crow take another beating. Mr. Wachtel took us all out to the Miami Golf Club where again we were received with the finest courtesy. He teed off and we followed.

Some played nine holes; others eighteen. After the first nine we had lunch in the club house and later an illustration of how Mr. Wachtel wanted us to spend nothing of our own. Some of us tipped the caddies, but the management, learning of it somehow, took it from them and gave it back to us; they had been taken care of, he said.

The caddies, all of whom are white, were just as fine and friendly as they could be.

IN RETURNING, I rode with Mr. Wachtel, who told us interesting experiences of his days as a salesman and the psychology of some of the folks he had to deal with. He is also well-informed on international politics, and, all in all, is a businessman who operates on a high ethical and cultural plane. And so modest you'd never imagine he's head of one of the nation's wealthiest concerns.

The evening before leaving, we had a fine dinner with steaks so large and tender that I didn't know that kind was still in captivity.

In short, everything for our entertainment was done royally. Even presents to take home to wives were given us. Joe Makel, colored, of the executive sales staff, came down from New York specially to look after us.

Of course, though things are still bad, the above sounds unbelievable to many. But those of that time as Dr. DuBois know them to be true.

NOW WHAT has been going into the brain of white America about Negroes for over three hundred years has been most 1917. came a change. Negro often bad. In fact, no other troops serving with the French people has been so vilified, so in World War I made a big misrepresented as the American Negro. In the 1910's I plots of Roberts, Johnson and went through hundreds of anti-others made headlines and election Negro books, pamphlets, and trifled the nation. Then, too, articles in our leading libraries Negroes were needed to carry and was ~~aghast~~ at what I on here at home. But in 1919, found. *Pittsburgh* race riots swept America. Three

There were such books as days under the nose of Wilson Carroll's "The Negro: A Beast," in Washington and five in Chicago. R. W. Shunk's "The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization" (1907) which gave whites of America were aroused

the castration of Negro males and began to put their foot

as one solution. In these works, down.

some of them of the 1700's, I The white press spoke more found Negroes denounced as favorably and public opinion improved. At that time, too, the Ku Klux Klan came along and beast spoken of in Revelations; lumped white Catholics, Jews as the serpent that tempted Eve; as the offspring of a degenerate white man and a she-gorilla; as debased, thievish, lying, malodorous, cursed by God. *Det-2-7-53*

THE NEGRO will never come into his own until he gets a better name, until he is able to erase from the minds of most whites the centuries of propaganda against him. It's natural for any people, white or black, to think evil of those of whom they only hear evil.

Almost every sincere person will recall having hurt someone because of false information. The American white isn't so much bad at heart towards Negroes as that he doesn't know. And when he knows the truth, he'll change. I've been watching him do so much since 1945.

Also, most of the dailies with the exception of the Boston Transcript and the New York World, were either anti-Negro or generally unfriendly. I was not surprised, therefore, when I went over this nation in the 1910's to find anti-Negro feeling from one end to the other. In 1917, when an estimated 500 Negroes were massacred at East St. Louis, the general feeling was colored folk had it coming to them. So strong was anti-Negro sentiment that even the then President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, did not dare raise his voice against that butchery, even had he wished to.

ROGERS

Negro Will Never Come Into His Own Until He Gets a Better Name

By J. A. ROGERS

NEGRO History Week is here again and that reminds me of the tons of paper used and the millions of words spoken on how to solve the race problem while the answer lies in only three words: Change public opinion. Which is what a knowledge of Negro history will do for most.

The information (or misinformation) in a man's brain rules him. It decides his attitude towards peoples and things. Given a change of information and often you'll have a new man. In my own case what has gone into my head in the past forty years has so changed me that if myself of then, and of now, could



Mr. Rogers

By George S. Schuyler

31a Views and Reviews

In Defense of Yergan, His Hatchet Is Unsheathed

EVERY time I glow with sweetness and light toward certain contemporaries and would forever bury the hatchet in hollowed ground, they perpetrate some asininity which forces me instead to bury the weapon in their skulls.

My homicidal impulses are especially inflamed when those who have had the advantages of education, association and experience toss logic, learning, balance and fairness into the trash box, and, thus unencumbered, leap lightly upon the bandwagon of propaganda and demagogery.

This seems to me to be especially reprehensible when the offenders boast positions of leadership.



Mr. Schuyler

I AM NOW referring to the recent attacks on Dr. Max Yergan by Drs. Walter F. White and Lester B. Granger because of the former's recent interview in the weekly U. S. News and World Report: "Africa: Next Target of Communism."

They were not alone, of course, but they are the most prominent of the attackers with the widest circulation and regarded, however erroneously, as spokesmen for American Negroes.

I think I read the interview as carefully as the NAACP and Urban League secretaries and promptly set it down as reasonable, informed and statesmanlike. With no

effort to make extremely difficult, numerous and explosive problems of Africa appear as simple (as does the average professional black racist), Dr. Yergan proceeded to say that (a) the Southern African Government policy was incorrect, (b) that it was necessary to understand why this Government acted as it did, and (c) that it

He also pointed out that every student

of Kremlin policies knows: i. e., that Communists and fellow-travelers are (and have for a long time been) working in every part of Africa in accordance with policies over thirty years old, capitalizing on local discontents, typical of McCarthyism.

These gentlemen dub "McCarthyism" with the cussion of world questions an impossibility. It has been the same everywhere including the United States.

* * *

IN HIS syndicated columns Dr. White professed that his factual statement was not "understandable" and charged that Dr. Yergan was taking Dr. Malan "and other study and negotiation? It is war!" racists in Africa off the hook in identical language to that of apologists for lynching

declaring war on South Africa? Are we then to go to war with every country whose policies offend us? In that event we shall never know a peaceful day.

This is the sort of abuse and exaggeration which otherwise Dr. White is accustomed to call "McCarthyism." Dr. White then proceeds to further have effect our approach must at least

"McCarthyism" by bringing up the entirely alien observation that Dr. Yergan once headed the Council on African Affairs

South Africa admittedly has in its hands

which has been officially dubbed a Com-

unist front.

I don't know what this has to do with the case but it is singular that it is the first time the NAACP secretary has denounced that ill-fated organization, perhaps

because so many present NAACP directors

were active in it, such as Hubert Delaney, Earl B. Dickerson, Channing Tobias and Roscoe Dunjee.

In the April 1, 1950, column of Dr. White in the Chicago Defender which launched his initial attack on Senator McCarthy, he roared that "seldom in contem-

porary history has the need of some sort of power been evident as in the case of

reckless smearings of honorable human

beings as "Communists" or "fellow

travelers." Dr. White is now hung by his

own petard.

THE AMENABLE Dr. Granger gnashes his teeth in similar fashion, accusing Dr. Yergan of making an "unworthy, unconstitutional black racist," Dr. Yergan proceeded to say that (a) the Southern African Government and its arch-maniac Prime Minister Malan," and, as flatly as it was necessary to understand why this Government acted as it did, and (c) that it

He calls Dr. Yergan a "hack" who has was playing with dynamite and ended up in "hopeless reaction"—whatever

that means, then piously refuses to "pass judgment on the man himself" (after a associate editor of the Courier, to messy job of character assassination), and write occasional special articles confesses that he is "thoroughly unhappy about the Yergan article." To such Stygian depths has the art of disputation sunk!

How any literate person could possibly read into the Yergan interview a defense of South African Negrophobia and apologize for the chain of daily newspapers it served.

Mr. Schuyler's first article on the progress of Negroes in the medical profession appeared from May 15-18 in forty-five dailies in twenty-five states. P. 12

This is believed to be the first time a Negro journalist has had his writings syndicated to so many U. S. daily newspapers reaching millions of readers, from Massachusetts to California.

Dr. Schuyler.
THIS FIRST feature appeared in such Southern dailies as the Decatur (Ala.) Daily, the Greensboro (N. C.) News, the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, the Roanoke (Va.) Times, the Shreveport (La.) Journal and the Tulsa (Okla.) World.

Some of the larger newspapers whose readers were given a summary of Negro medical progress were the Boston Globe, the Brooklyn Eagle, the Buffalo Courier-Express, the Denver Post, the Indianapolis Star, the Newark Evening News, the Oakland Tribune, the Philadelphia Bulletin, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the Toledo Times, Springfield (Mass.) Union, Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette, Tacoma News-Tribune and Wilmington News-Journal.

Other special articles by the Courier associate editor are scheduled for early publication.

The Spades Syndicate's editor-in-chief is Victor Lasky, co-author of the best-selling "Seeds of Treason."

He Tells of Progress

Spades Puts Geo. Schuyler In 45 Dailies

NEW YORK—The Spades Syndicate of New York City has com-

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

31 a New
ANOTHER questionable anthropologist was recently exposed and, ironically enough, by his own statements.

I refer to Dr. W. Ashley Montagu of Rutgers University who has won a considerable following since he arrived on these shores by his vigorous debunking of the superior-race fiction. He belongs to that group which suddenly became excited about "race" when Hitler and his goons came to power in Germany (with the help of the Communists) and promptly carried out policies which had been outlined in "Mein Kampf."

Previously they had had no urge to write hysterical tracts against this concept when it was only used to justify the exploitation, discrimination and segregation of Negroes. However, their aid was welcomed by the darker brethren, although what they said was far from new.



Mr. Schuyler

A MONTH ago Dr. Montagu was invited by the parent-teacher group of New York's swank Dalton School to address a meeting composed of prominent white and colored folk of decidedly liberal bent.

In the language of the Southern rural regions he "cut a hog" which astonished and enraged his auditors.

Proceeding to speak freely, the eminent anthropologist told them that (a) slavery ended too soon and that whites and Negroes should have been "prepared" for freedom before hand; that (b) we should "go slow" in getting rid of discrimination, especially in the South; that (c) although racial intermarriage could work in France or England, he had never seen such a marriage work out in the U. S. A., and even questioned whether the children of such marriages would "turn out" well here; that (d) while against segregated housing in principle, he held that integrated housing was "an impractical goal" in most parts of this country, and proposed relaxing the color bar

for it; that (e) had he been Abraham Lincoln, he would not have freed the Negroes in 1863, because it did actual harm to the cause of equality since the Negroes were "not ready" for it.

11/11/53
NATURALLY, THAT caused a storm of protest and some of the Negro parents indignantly walked out. His manner was flippant, arrogant and hostile, as is usually the case with these Malanists garbed in liberal clothing. Of course they all believe in fundamental racial equality, but—!

There are probably few Southern white people of Montagu's stature who would dare to make such statements in public today before either a white or mixed audience. I doubt very seriously that even Hitler would have done so.

Indeed, the late Adolf once told a meeting of his Storm Troop leaders: "I know very well that there is no such thing as race, but I need to use it for political purposes."

For the last quarter century Southern white spokesmen have abandoned the position that Negroes are inferior, holding that the two "races" are simply different, and for that reason should be separated. Dr. Montagu somersaulted back to the early 1920s.

Contra
IMAGINE DREDGING up the old canards against interracial marriage and the "fate" of the offspring of such unions!

In his audience there were several distinguished offspring of interracial unions—outstanding by every American standard. Frederick Douglass would have been astounded and outraged by his statements, just as John B. Russwurm and numerous others would have been. A brilliant galaxy of lawyers, doctors, judges, artists, writers, technicians and business people give the lie to Dr. Montagu.

If he doesn't know about these people, how dare he to generalize in this manner? Some of the highest I. Q.s recorded in this nation have been possessed by children of mixed unions or mixed ancestry.

Dr. Montagu is apparently unaware that there are more mixed legal unions in the United States than in all Europe and most of Latin America put together; that, in the main, they are unmolested, no more ostracized than other "out" groups are anywhere, here or abroad, and in few places outside Dixie are the laws against them.

How well the children "turn out" is common knowledge to everybody except

Dr. Montagu. Where, one wonders, has he been?

11/13/53

INTEGRATED HOUSING is NOT an impractical goal in most of the U. S. A., as Montagu asserts. He has probably been in at most a dozen American cities and towns. I have been in at least 300, South and North; and in scores of them one finds Negro and white families living peaceably side by side in the same block.

This is true in places I've visited in Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas and Tennessee. I have been guest in Negro homes surrounded by white residences in cities as far South as Galveston—and how much farther South can you get in this land?

Moreover, there are scores of housing projects in which Negroes and whites re-side. So, despite admitted difficulties, who dares say the goal of housing integration is "impractical"?

My own impression is, after surveying these conditions in some twenty countries, that the American white people are more adaptable to social change on racial matters than any other, are less ignorant about colored people and more willing to let them live and prosper. In what other country on earth have race relations improved so rapidly in the past fifteen years?

Well, the outstanding "liberal" anthropologist has spoken. So now you know why anthropology is not a science.

the Chinese Reds gave them to read for indoctrination purposes is puzzling many people. Mr. Jackson answered all questions on that because Army authorities in California had forbade him to do so. Why? Is someone in the Army protecting certain left-wing American authors? Page Senator McCarthy!

Contra
New York's most ballyhooed police brutality case blew up last week when a couple who had accused cops of beating them were found to have assaulted the police instead, after a thorough investigation by three local judges presumably impartial. This should teach us not to hysterically jump to conclusions whenever demagogues make self-serving charges.

Contra
AMERICA'S 1,500,000 Negro trade unionists should be pleased by the agreement last week of the AFL and CIO to a two-year non-raiding pact. These inter-union wars have been responsible for millions of man-days lost (with pay) in an effort to settle what union has control of what job. It will mean money in everybody's pocket.

11/13/53
Florida's Legislature has unanimously voted to outlaw Communism in that state. It is hoped that our fellow-travelers and party members there will take note . . . It would be a good thing if Florida would now illegalize Jim Crow. Then it would truly be a wonderful place.

Contra
THE FRENCH are smart. They have now maneuvered to get some of the chiefs in Morocco to denounce the Sultan who is an ardent nationalist. Pressure was put on the chiefs and caids. By whom? Well, you can easily guess. Unable to run their own country efficiently, the French are determined to run countries under their flag on the ground that these colonials are unable to do the jobs themselves. Who believes that?

Contra
CURTUS Lrusal of ex-prisoner of war Theodore Jackson of Palestine Tax, to name what American-authored books

By George S. Schuyler 31a negr

Views and Reviews

Black Propaganda Terned 'Bilboism' in Reverse

WHEN Comrade Umansky was serving as USSR ambassador to Mexico, he boasted one night at one of his glittering diplomatic functions about the allegedly great increase in literacy in the Soviet Union.

A witty Mexican lady asked him, "What difference does it make, Mr. Ambassador, if they are all forced to read the same thing?"

She was referring, of course, to the Red propaganda output, mislabeled journalism and literature, which never varies from the party line. So no matter how literate the Comrades become or how much they read, they remain ignorant.

Like Plato's Cave People, they mistake the shadow for the substance, the falsehood for truth. *Conqueror*

I AM REMINDED of this when I read much of the comment in the Negro press on matters relating to the colored folk, here and abroad.

Here, there is less interest in factual analysis than there is in propaganda, less interest in imparting rounded information than in furthering indoctrination. This strikes me as a disservice to the readers because it tends to perpetuate the persecution complex which has hampered thought and retarded progress among us.

According to the Black propaganda line, whatever happens colored folk are blameless, righteous, unprejudiced, generous, industrious, peaceful, law-abiding and tolerant; while white people are just the opposite and ever to be feared and

suspected of plotting evil things.

This is simply Bilboism in reverse, and just as revolting. It is ascribing a "racial" difference to colored and white which simply does not obtain.

31a negr
SCHUYLER

This is a familiar Communist tactic. True, it happened before communism became a world conspiracy but today it is standardized world tactic, with rule books and orders issued from the Kremlin.

A CASE in point is the situation

in British Guiana concerning which these writers have left their readers as mis-informed as possible. They have sought whole lot of sorrow. Confiscating plan to minimize the communism of the de-tations and installations would have posed leaders of the Peoples Progressive party, just as they constantly seek to a similar action did in Iran.

British Guiana gets its main income by sneering down all efforts to expose it, from sugar and bauxite. There are no sugar refineries there, and if there were the country could not absorb the pro-

minimize the menace of communism here. British Guiana gets its main income by sneering down all efforts to expose it, from sugar and bauxite. There are no sugar refineries there, and if there were the country could not absorb the pro-

Like an unfortunately large number of "intellectuals" of all colors, creeds and countries, they remain fascinated by market glutted with sugar? Under the Marxism. They still harbor the Utopian Commonwealth system Britain guaranteed that by some legedemain con-tees them a market. Elsewhere they jured around a conference table, deserts would have to sell at a lower price, if can be made to bloom, the shiftless made at all.

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They readily fell for the nostrums of ber, the Iranians have oil but nobody new-fair dealism, fascism, socialism, will buy or transport it.

communism, nazism or some other political patent medicine.

WHILE THE majority of the boobs who followed the Pied Pipers of the P. P. P. unfortunately knew nothing of communism, neither did the majority of Russians, Poles, Chinese, Rumanians, Czechs, Hungarians and North Koreans.

Nor did their leaders tell them what it was and how their programs would lead to it. They just played upon their ignorance, avarice, envy and misery so they would seize what they wanted and did not have, from those who had it; bolstered by the delusion that this was the road to democracy, social justice and reform.

It is unimportant whether the leaders of this mob are or are not card-carrying Communists if they are carrying out a Communist program.

These people did not believe in capitalism without which democracy is a

mockery. They did not believe in private industry, brawn and brain; not lead property which is synonymous with them to catastrophe while tearfully freedom. They were all set to take over blamming white folks for all their troubles. Through the instrumentality of the general strike by the typical Caribbean catch-all unions which they, the leaders, controlled.

* * *

BY THEIR swift action the British writers have left their readers as mis-saved the misguided Guianan masses a informed as possible. They have sought whole lot of sorrow. Confiscating plan to minimize the communism of the de-tations and installations would have posed leaders of the Peoples Progressive promptly led to national bankruptcy, as party, just as they constantly seek to a similar action did in Iran.

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The Aluminum Company of America and its Canadian subsidiary invested millions in bauxite mining, providing jobs for thousands. Who would buy or transport the bauxite taken over by the P. P. P. zealots?

Without hard money for the necessary imports, the colony would sink shortly into savagery, starvation and death.

Where the surrounding lands are grossly over-populated, B. G. is greatly under populated.

Behind the jungles and mountains is the vast Rupununi area of fertile, well-watered savannahs ideal for crops and cattle. Land can be had for almost nothing. Save for a few thousand Indians, the Rupununi area is uninhabited.

Following the example of the Mormons in the U. S., honest and far-sighted Guiana leaders would guide their impoverished followers to that promised land and there create a paradise through

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Where Are the Sneers From the 'Pinks' in Sepia Hides?

WELL, WELL, FOLKS! Doesn't this Harry Dexter White expose make us anti-Communists look prophetic? Where now are all the sneers and snippings, the underminings and name-callings, the accusations of "witch-hunting" and "McCarthyism" against the little band of alert Americans who warned for years against the Communist conspiracy and its hundreds of thousands of "intellectual" accomplices, dupes and fellow-travelers?

We knew 'way back yonder that government, business, organized labor, the church, the theatrical world, the vast publishing empire, Negro organizations and institutions, the films, the schools and colleges, radio and television, and even the armed forces were infiltrated by this clever, callous and ruthless gang.

We knew about Harry Dexter White, Owen Lattimore, David K. (Devious Dave) Niles (who handled minority affairs under Roosevelt and Truman—but did nothing for the Negro!) and numerous others, but we were decried.

Back in 1948 a group of us, advised Governor Dewey, tried to persuade him to expose what the Eisenhower Administration is exposing now, but he was too smart to listen. So he lost. It is now five years too late.

IT IS not difficult to recall how easily our Negro "intellectuals" were hoodwinked and enslaved to serve the Red Uncle Toms, flattered by being taken up by ANY white folks, eagerly served the Communist conspiracy. How? By (a) repeating all the Moscow-circulated cliches about "McCarthyism"; by (b) yammering about



SCHUYLER

DID YOU know that the various atomic laboratories swarmed with Communists from the beginning?

Did you know that bomb mechanisms, fissionable materials, photographs and blueprints were stolen years ago because security was so lax as to be almost non-existent?

Did you know that Russia's industrial Red propaganda about mythical white conspiracies against Negroes, thus furthering the Kremlin's goal of dividing America; by (d) statements, insinuations and implications that the USA was the worst place on earth and should be curbed by the UN; by (e) repeating the asinine "peace" chatter, etc., etc.

Did you know that the plant is incapable of manufacturing the bomb (although she can, given the know-how, set off an atomic explosion; just as San Marino, Costa Rica or Uruguay can); that the real danger from A-bombs is not by plane from Russia by subversives in isolated warehouses and cellars, to be exploded by wireless!

Did you know that the same scientists "peace conference" at the Waldorf-Astoria in 1949, along with some less perfect the A-bomb, and urged the greatest secrecy prior to the surrender of eminent Negro fry.

Another "leader" attacked Senator Joe McCarthy twice within a few weeks. Still another "spokesman" enjoying a fat salary from the taxpayers led the Why?

Because they were interested in destroying Germany only, not Russia, and about "peace" for the past four years, wanted the Japanese war to last long but has said no word about freedom enough for the Reds to seize China and Whole packs of these pinks in sepia all Asia while our boys were dying on the beaches of Japan!

World hokum and the "sharing" of atomic energy secrets with America's scientists, fellow-travelers and assorted worst enemy. It looks like their time "progressives" were actively behind the successful drive to get the atomic administration out of Army hands and has come, folks.

MESSRS. Eisenhower, Brownell, et al., into civilian ones? have decided to blow the whistle on the Red conspiracy within our country in "The Secret War for the A-Bomb," which almost destroyed it.

Well, there's all that and a lot more Read it and get a new slant on "witch-hunting"; "McCarthyism"; "the threat to academic freedom"; "One World,"

In this connection I should like to call the attention of the Administration and to the general public to a book packed with so much dynamite that it will blow all complacency about the Communist menace sky high.

I refer to "The Secret War for the A-Bomb" by Medford Evans (Henry Regnery, Chicago, \$3.95). Brother Evans knows the history and set-up of the atomic energy program from the inside.

Wielding a powerful sledge-hammer, he whips heads from the White House down to the fellow-traveling scientists who spent billions of your dollars perfecting the A-bomb, and then had the effrontery or stupidity to urge that we

give the secret of manufacture to an enemy who had openly proclaimed his hostile objective.

His philippic is extremely well-documented, chapter and verse, and his conclusions will seem inescapable to reasonable men who are not Reds.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Jagan's a Red, But His Wife's the Commissar

IT SHOULD be no surprise to Courier readers that on Oct. 3, Great Britain's Privy Council met at Balmoral Castle in Scotland, where Queen Elizabeth is vacationing, to consider revocation of the new constitution of British Guiana; and that the cruiser *Superb*, having taken on troops at Jamaica, headed under sealed orders for the colony on the northern shoulder of South America.

It should occasion no surprise because Courier readers have been kept informed about political developments there for the past four years. They know that the Communists had taken over there.

They were so informed in our May 30 issue in a lengthy and well-documented article under the heading "Reds Win Guiana," which this writer secured directly from our correspondent who is politically well-versed.

ELECTIONS IN British Guiana, under the new constitution granting universal suffrage, were held late in April.

In an exclusive story in our issue of May 9, we reported that the Red-controlled Peoples Progressive party had won eighteen of the twenty-four Assembly seats and two of the nine seats in the upper house.

Our story pointed out that the leader of the P.P.P. was an East Indian dentist, Cheddi Jagan, and that "Red leadership would be regarded as dangerous by the United States."

The Courier was the only U. S. paper to note the extreme significance of this development and in elaborate detail.

With a Red government in Guate-



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mala, a Socialist government in Costa Rica, a strong left-wing group in Venezuela, but recently ousted from power by a military junta, and Communists predominant in Martinique and Guadeloupe, this took on the aspect of a well-planned move to surround the Panama Canal, America's lifeline.

* * *

LET US JUMP back to our issue of July 9, 1949, in which appeared my lengthy article on British Guiana where I had visited a fortnight previously.

Indicating the extreme potentiality of this economically rich and thinly settled colony of 83,000 square miles (the most promising British colony in the Caribbean area), I pointed out that, "It could comfortably hold all of the surplus populations which bedevil the islands of the north and still have room for more. Its 381,325 people, consisting of 49.4 per cent of African descent, 44.2 per cent East Indian and 10 per cent European is sufficiently heterogeneous to stimulate development of all its resources."

Then I dwelt on the polyglot schisms, prejudices, discriminations, clannishness and rivalries which might cause trouble.

I especially stressed the antagonism between the Negroes and East Indians accentuated by the rise of India with which the Orientals openly identify themselves. This antagonism has grown worse.

MOVING FORWARD to the triumph of the P.P.P. at the polls last April, Courier readers learned that immediately a British atomic scientist en route to B. G., in connection with vast uranium deposits was suddenly recalled; that \$500,000 worth of U. S. equipment for exploiting this project was promptly held up and 300 U. S. workers suddenly sent home; that there was a mild run on the Government Savings Bank the day after election, and that veteran Colonial Treasurer Hon. Edwin Frank McDavid (a Negro) had resigned.

Cheddi Jagan, a Red and a bitter foe of business, is a Howard and Northwest U. graduate in dentistry who went

behind the Iron Curtain in 1951, and returning gave up his practice.

The idol of the East Indians, he is regarded by most Negroes as insincere and racially prejudiced. His party had for four years set up cells all over the colony, "selling" his followers on communism via books, pamphlets, recordings and lantern slides.

Ominously he got a large part of the civil service and police vote, many having been to the collectivist breeding ground of London universities and returned to corrupt their comrades. Jagan last year attended the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions conference in Barbados which Grantley Adams of that island denounced as Red-controlled.

The election was characterized by thuggery and illegalities that would have aroused the admiration of the Hague or Tammany machines.

* * *

IT IS NOT so much Jagan, however, but his wife who is the real Commissar. Mrs. Janet Rosenberg Jagan is an American who attended U. of Detroit, Wayne U., Michigan State and the Cook County School of Nursing, not graduating from either.

She was a member of the Young Communist League which our Attorney General has dubbed subversive. She is a fanatical Red.

While she is opposed to her Negro associate, London-trained, left-wing lawyer, Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham, she cultivated him because of his popularity with the Negro masses who helped swing the election, albeit Jagan out-maneuvered and defeated him in the City Council.

Another left-wing Negro leader, Sydney King, also London-trained, set up the peace committees and the Pioneer Youth Movement along traditional communist lines.

Another Negro associate is Ashton Chase, union leader, who looks lovingly toward Moscow. He double-crossed his boss, pioneer labor leader Hubert Critchlow. All these leaders became ministers of Government.

Last May Day P.P.P. demonstrators carried huge portraits of Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov and Mao, and all types of communist slogans.

* * *

The P.P.P. program is as Red as its leaders and identical with that of such

"people's democracies" as Romania, Poland, Hungary and China. One of its mentors is Ferdinand Smith who was booted out of the National Maritime Union and deported for being a Communist.

So, having seen enough, the British Government has swung into action.

As usual, the masses of people, Negroes and Indians, will suffer for the subversive activities of the Communist few.

The
WORLD
TODAY
By George S. Schuyler

Sparking British Guiana's political crisis is a hard core of colored Communists, advised by Ferdinand Smith, erstwhile secretary of the National Maritime Union, who was ousted from his union and from the U.S.A., because he was and is a Red agent. Smith has been roaming the Caribbean spreading his poison — and getting results. Others around Harlem's 125th Street have also done their part. One could name names.

Set. 10-17-53
BEHIND the recent uprising in Cuba's Oriente Province was the hand of the Kremlin, and one of the leaders of that abortive revolt was Lazaro Pena, Negro labor leader, once Stalin's chief tool in the West Indies. Dictator Batista, a tough man, will see that Pena and his fellow-conspirators get "justice."

Except for Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico there are strong left-wing labor groups behind extremist political parties in almost all of the islands. The strongest unions in Trinidad are led by leftists. The story has been similar

for the Kremlin "natural" agents because the problems largely wrought by excessive populations everywhere trying to live on inadequate resources are almost insoluble. All nations around the area, in North and South America, in refusing to admit West In-

Kitts, "natural" agents because the problems largely wrought by excessive populations everywhere trying to live on inadequate resources are almost insoluble. All nations around the area, in North and South America, in refusing to admit West In-

Antigua and St. Kitts, "natural" agents because the problems largely wrought by excessive populations everywhere trying to live on inadequate resources are almost insoluble. All nations around the area, in North and South America, in refusing to admit West In-

dian immigrants, even though, as in the cases of Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil and the Guianas, they are underpopulated. Not one of the islands is economically independent.

* * *

India's Untouchables, numbering over 50 million, won their greatest victory recently when one of their venerable leaders, universally loved and respected, was booted from a Hindu temple, along with his handful of followers. Next day the reaction set in and some of the more liberal Brahmin priests admitted the despised people. A victory for Gandhian passive resistance, but there is still a long way to go.

* * *

MOST sensational espionage story of the year is how a vital U. S. agency was fooled into giving a supposed agent of the Polish underground \$11 million in unmarked and unlisted \$10 bills for work behind the Iron Curtain. The "Polish" agent was actually a Russian NKVD man. What suckers! Reason why Dr. J. B. Matthews's resignation as chief investigator of the McCarthy committee was forced was because it was known that HE knew the dope, would probe and would expose.

* * *

Incidentally, one of our "leaders" had a rough time before one of the investigating committees last Monday when privately confronted with two of the ex-Reds who knew him when he was waving the Red flag and hollering for revolution. The public exposure will come later. Too bad!

By George S. Schuyler

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Views and Reviews

African Descendants Should Help Preserve the Seifert Collection

FORTUNATE, indeed, is the man whose work lives after he has gone. Charles C. Seifert, who died in 1949, has been so blessed. He was 67 years old when he died. Born in Barbados, British West Indies, he was trained as an architect but later became a Protestant minister.

Brilliant and sensitive, he became appalled by the disinterest of most colored people in their ancestry and the contributions Africans had made through the ages to world civilization.

He was more distressed by the wide acceptance of the current view that the African had no history and no culture; that he had, as it were, stood still while the rest of the world swept by.

Convinced of the past glories of African civilization,

he proceeded about 1910 to dig up the facts to support his conviction. He haunted libraries and old book stores, ~~wherever~~ gathered pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures and old texts, he read prodigiously. He pursued the subject with passionate singleness of purpose. He gathered a valuable library of some 2,500 items.

* * *

I FIRST met this zealous scholar some thirty years ago. Black as Africa, with shrewd eyes and facile speech, he was to be seen wherever there was a forum or meeting in High Harlem, always calling attention to the little-known facts of African history.

And then, after forty years of research and instruction, he went the way of all flesh, leaving his valuable library behind.

11-14-53

Relatively few people knew about it or, as a matter of fact, about him. All the literary riches he had laboriously gathered at his own expense might have been scattered to the winds, had it not

been for his handsome wife, Goldie, whom he had wed three years before. She had started as one of his pupils and now she became the custodian and executor of his estate.

Along with his valuable collection, Mrs. Seifert, a Virginian, inherited his life-long ambition to make this knowledge available to the world. Indefatigably she carried on his work and with the assistance of a few loyal friends established the Charles C. Seifert Historical and Research Library at 203 W. 138th Street, New York, N. Y.

There with two or three volunteer workers and with the support of a few interested individuals like Dr. Leo Hanesberry of Howard, the Rev. Charles Y. Trigg of the famous Salem Methodist Church, Prof. G. G. James of Arkansas State College, Bob Douglas of the Renaissance Casino, and Drs. Muriel Petioni, Lisle Carter and George E. Haynes, this devoted lady has carried on, struggling to meet the cost of maintaining the library, often disheartened by lack of finances, but never abandoning hope that some fund or foundation will come to her assistance.

* * *

CHARLES C. SEIFERT must be delighted and grateful as he looks down upon this little cultural center on Harlem's West 138th Street which his widow has striven so hard to make possible and to continue.

To it come students of all colors and ages to pore over the treasure of books, manuscripts, pamphlets and pictures which gave the lie to the detractors of the African in particular and descendants of Africa in general. They are astonished and delighted by what they find, and this is Mrs. Seifert's great reward.

There have been times during the period since Professor Seifert's death when the quite small sum needed to keep the doors of the library open has seemed painfully elusive; but the gallant lady has always been able to perform some financial miracle to prevent a catastrophe.

With millions of dollars being spent all around her, the few dollars for rent, light and telephone have been hard to come by. Neither colored nor white

people have been generous nor, in the main, concerned; nor are they today.

* * *

WITHOUT Mrs. Seifert's sacrifices this valuable library would long since have vanished, and this would have been a great loss. There are few such notable collections, but how long can one lone, poor woman, however devoted, keep this library together?

Some time when you are in New York City, go into the little library hard by Seventh Avenue and see the treasure one black man collected and one black woman has kept intact. And if you are too far away for that, but nevertheless are interested in seeing an unique institution of this kind maintained, send Mrs. Charles C. Seifert a contribution to help carry on her work.

Most of our people know too little about our heritage to stand by while a reservoir of valuable information is emptied for lack of help from those to whose profit it is to help preserve it.

By George S. Schuyler

Courier 31a *Negro*
Views and Reviews

Pittsburgh, Pa. Old Man Rhee Played What Trumps He Held

AFTER all the fathead, emotional and sometimes traitorous and obfuscating bilge about the Rosenbergs (who should have been shot when caught), "witch hunting," "book burning" and other Commie-line blather, the action of old man Syngman Rhee, President of Korea, struck a clear and welcome note.

The elderly and astute Oriental statesman, who has forgotten more about international skullduggery than Eisenhower, Dulles and Company ever will know, was aware that a job was about to be done on him. This was evident by the long, foolish and Commie-serving truce talks at Panmunjon which if continued had to culminate in another Acheson-type surrender to Moscow. *p. 4*

Dr. Rhee saw the whole sorry mess ending just where it started, with his country divided, leaving the vital northern industrial area in the hands of the Communists where the Americans had put it in 1945 by agreeing to the Thirty-eighth Parallel dividing line. *Sat. 7-4-53*

It was as if an enemy should capture the region from Chicago to Boston, leaving the U. S. remainder to die on the vine for want of the industrial machine fundamental to the preservation of any modern state.



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was excluded from fully participating in the truce talks.

South Korea is a member of that Socialist-controlled debating society, the United Nations, and Communist China is not; and yet the Reds had a voice at Pan-

mumjon and the Republic of Korea had at best only an observer.

Quite properly, Dr. Rhee wanted to win, not lose, the war. One of the oldest military maxims is that "the ultimate object of all military training and action is success in

told their UN friends to go jump in the

lake if they did not like it.

To sit down by the roadside and talk when the enemy is weakening and victory is in one's grasp is criminal and traitorous.

This error (if it was an error) was made in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, when for some mysterious reason never explained, the Allied High Command let the Reds take Berlin, Prague and Vienna. It was made in Asia when old Marshall surrounded by Red American advisers forced Chiang Kai-shek to enter protracted truce talks enabling Mao's armies to be regrouped and rearmed by Russia while at the same time reducing the Nationalist's supplies from America to

Next to the ROKS, the U. S. forces have borne the brunt of the war physically and financially while the other Assembly members sent tiny token forces or none at all, and let Uncle Sam foot the bill, as usual. What kind of One World is that?

As I pointed out here when this UN racket was first cooked up at Dumbarton Oaks (Hoax!), it is a cruel and dangerous fraud on the people of this and all other countries, a bottomless sinkhole for American dollars, a forum for semi-totalitarians, neutrals, World Government visionaries and canny Reds to smear and slander the United States which has saved them all

trickle.

from starvation and collapse at the expense

of our taxpayers.

These mistakes or worse suggest the need for a Nuremberg-type trial in Washington to punish our war criminals; but the Communist armed menace since the end of the World War II has been made

that will never happen because too many of them are still running our Government outside the UN by old-fashioned (and much-denounced) diplomacy.

DR. RHEE, who is a brilliant scholar and astute politician, saw what was coming; saw that he was slated to be double-crossed like the rest, so he played what trumps he held, and released almost all the non-Communist prisoners.

The diplomatic and military defeats suffered by the USA since 1945 are the result of being tied to this world organization which we should never have entered,

as an unwanted spy nest and palaver

which should be ousted from our soil

as an unwanted spy nest and palaver

which should be ousted from our soil

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

We Don't Need Population Increase From Any Direction

BEING always ready by nature for a fight or a frolic, I was more than delighted when some of the professional opponents of restricted immigration and planned parenthood rushed into the arena whooping, hollering and swinging their knobberries. What distresses me is that these foes are so unworthy of my steel. A good fighter prefers to trade blows with stout fellows rather than stumblebums. One thinks of Kipling's words:

"There's sore decline in Adam's line

If this be spawn of earth."



Mr. Schuyler

One news item from Alaska in last month's papers made hash of most of these people's "arguments" in favor of the rabbit-warren society. This story told of the millions of lemmings (a small Arctic rodent) streaming from the tundras, hopping onto the ice floes to certain death in the chill waters. This is a periodic phenomenon of the Arctic regions. Why does it occur when the greatest desire of all living things is to keep on living as long as possible? It occurs because of one thing only: food shortage. There simply is not enough food for these swarms of tiny animals, so they commit suicide!

HERE WE HAVE a graphic illustration of the Malthusian Law at work. Malthus was a far better prophet than Marx (who batted 100 per cent wrong!). It was easy for Malthus to cite from history numerous instances when population had out-distanced food supply, leading to conflict, war, famine and death—or emigration for the fortunate. It is easy for us today to point to Italy, China, Japan, India, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Haiti and Barbados (to name just a few places) as terrible examples of excessive fecundity unmatched by increased food supply.

If modern health and sanitary measures continue to reach these over-populated

countries, cutting down death rates (as in Japan under the occupation) while birth rates rise, isn't it obvious that the food supply will soon be reduced to a starvation level? India, with 370 million people, can scarcely make the grade now without outside aid, and yet her population is growing annually by five million. What will they eat in 1970?

Sept. 11-53

IT IS REPLIED that there is still land available to be cultivated with sufficient intensity to feed all of these coming millions adequately. But all soil is not the same. Vast acreages are returning to desert because of loss of forest growth and grass, thus cutting the supply of water and making irrigation increasingly difficult.

Fertilizers are increasingly expensive. The very intelligence required for more scientific cultivation of the soil for heightened food production is lowered almost to nadir by diet deficiency.

There is a direct connection between stupidity and vitamins. There can be no debate about that. Those who are interested in the subject might profitably read "Nutrition and Physical Degeneration," by Dr. Weston A. Price, which must be in most good public libraries.

THERE IS EVEN in the U. S. A. considerable concern about our own natural resources coping with our great increase in population. When I was born our population was about 63,000,000 and the U. S. area about what it is now. Today the population is nearly 160,000,000, and growing at the rate of 1.5 million yearly, a rate higher than that of the world. For a provocative discussion of this subject read "Population Bulletin" for June, 1953 (published by Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 "M" Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.). There would be less ignorance on these questions if these studies were more widely read. It only costs \$1 a year.

There being no evidence whatever that we need more people here, why should we open the doors to more? In twenty more years we shall have around 190 million people. Knowing what good food costs now, what will it cost then? How can our present rate of income per capita be maintained in the face of increasing numbers? Has it done so anywhere else? Echo answers no. We are unable to eat nearly as well as our fathers did before the Corn Flakes Era.

It is to be concluded on basis of the evidence, therefore, that instead of increasing immigration we should stem what flow there is from any direction. We cannot any longer afford the luxury of such philanthropy.

* * *

AS FOR PLANNED parenthood, if it is right to interfere with nature by preventing untimely death (as we do with our health and sanitation programs) what's wrong with preventing unwanted and undesirable babies?

If it is against God's law to interfere with the procreation of our kind, is it not His law to enforce celibacy in tens of thousands, even millions, in religious institutions, armies, navies, prisons and insane asylums?

Is it more reprehensible to prevent undesired or undesirable pregnancy and thus limit the birth rate than it is to create a new slum proletariat by unrestricted procreation?

Isn't it strange that many who are all for social planning are opposed to family planning? Moreover, is it not absolutely un-American for any group to enter the chamber's privacy, as it were, and demand that married couples refrain from intercourse with the conception of offspring they cannot afford or which the wife dare not gestate? How totalitarian can you get?

In sum, we don't need any population increase from any direction. It is better to have quality than quantity. We need less, better nourished, healthier and therefore more mentally alert people; and the sooner we work toward that goal, the better.

31a (Negro)

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Since Sex Is Here to Stay, What About Our Laws?

WHATEVER one may think of the findings of Dr. Kinsey and his associates, I am sure there is unanimous agreement that sex is here to stay. *1953*

Moreover, this comforting view is of great antiquity. Without it none of us would be here nor would there be much point in staying here. Nature saw fit to divide humans into male and female, unlike certain organisms which contain both sexes in one body.

The two sexes complement each other, and neither can reach its full development and purpose without the other. Naturally they are mutually attracted in order to consummate their basic purpose on earth—and that attraction is very pleasant.



MR. SCHUYLER

OF COURSE, some couples are more attracted than others, and since the days of the dinosaur, human society has been making laws, rules, regulations and taboos to make sure that the right people are attracted in the right way and at the right time.

Failure or inability to abide by the considered views of any social order has always led, therefore, to what is called trouble. When any society through experience decides that its regulations are causing too much trouble they are changed regardless of the opposition of diehards.

Even when a couple's association is in accord with society's regulations, it is justice to the vigorous wife?

Since every other means of sexual expression or satisfaction is outlawed, what

This often leads to tension, conflict, intolerance.

Conceding that there are millions of revulsion, indifference and sometimes (and increasingly nowadays) to separation when men and women who are virile but unmarried, should we continue the Mann Act

the difference is marked. Infidelity frequently flows from these differences unless frustrated by lack of opportunity. *1953* fear of consequences.

The findings of Dr. Kinsey and his associates seem to indicate that in our society there is need for some revision in the manner in which we have sought to regulate and control sexual relationships. Otherwise there would not be so much trouble before, during and after marriage.

Economically, socially and psychologically our society is different from any previous one, and so perhaps our approach to this sex problem needs to be different.

Our society has certainly changed more rapidly than any previous one, not only superficially but fundamentally, so maybe we need to change our approach and outlook toward sex.

Should our laws be changed to enable couples to marry at an earlier age?

What is our society going to do about the physical and psychological demands of individuals between the ages of puberty and marriage, a period which may stretch from ten to fifteen years?

Since fornication and adultery are crimes in our society, should we encourage these crimes by insisting upon absolute virtue or celibacy, or provide for the conflicts arising from our taboos?

SINCE IGNORANCE and ineptitude apparently play such a large part in producing marital dissatisfactions and schisms, should society make provision for instructing the high contracting parties prior to marriage, assuming happy and lasting unions to be its goal? Some society

Accepting the Kinsey findings on the greater span of virility for women over men, should society alter its taboos in

Since every other means of sexual expression or satisfaction is outlawed, what

Conceding that there are millions of revulsion, indifference and sometimes (and increasingly nowadays) to separation when men and women who are virile but unmarried, should we continue the Mann Act

and the strict enforcement of hotel, rooming house, tourist camp and Lovers' Lane laws?

What about the fully mature bachelors and maidens, widows and widowers who do not care to marry or remarry although having need for intimate sexual relationship?

Should laws be passed compelling them to marry (thus violating individual rights) in order to thwart temptation and violation of other laws?

Should we, in view of some of these observations, continue to outlaw prostitution and places of assignation?

All of these questions are suggested by the findings of Dr. Kinsey and his associates regarding the sexual behavior of human males and females. To fulminate against them, as have some self-appointed custodians of public morals, is like denouncing a flood or earthquake, or cursing a volcanic eruption.

People have worn some sort of clothing for milleniums but our garments do not look now as they did in 1953 B. C.

Maybe there should be some changes made in sex fashions. It has certainly happened many times in our history.

Buchanan and Andrew D. Weinberger

With *31a (Negro)* in downtown New York at 369 Lexington Avenue, the organization held its kick-off banquet a couple of weeks ago at the Hotel Theresa where the business and social elite of the city was well represented.

* * *

IN BRIEF, the Brotherhood's plan is this: to get a share of the proceeds from the American Negroes' \$15,000,000,000 consumption of goods and services and to use this money to finance the fight for civil rights.

This money will come out of profits derived from the businesses and corporations selling these goods and services. Thus, civil rights organizations like the NAACP will realize the substantial funds they need from the vast sum which Negroes must necessarily spend in order to live in the

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Wherein Strategic Ingenuity Helped the Colored Brethren

THE COLORED brethren here have so spectacularly improved their status, a perusal of our history will attest. Consider the United Negro College Fund and its role in financing our privately owned colleges.

new tactics and strategy to deal with it, as not only because of their natural ability to win friends and influence people, but because of their strategic ingenuity.

Where underprivileged minorities elsewhere have remained socially and economically stationary or been banished to other lands, the Aframericans have shown steady progress toward manhood status despite a multitude of handicaps and obstacles. It is the mark of our greatness, I think, that in every crisis we have perfected



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NOW COMES another strategy which for sheer ingenuity has rarely been equaled.

I refer to the newly organized National Foundation for Brotherhood, headed by erstwhile U. S. Ambassador to Liberia Edward R. Dudley, with a big assist from Ernest E. Johnson, the redoubtable New York public relations man, who is board assistant.

On the board are such notables as Arthur C. Logan, Judge William H. Hastie, Judge Francis E. Rivers, P. M. H. Savory, William R. Hudgins, Alfred W. Tucker, the Misses Dorothy Height, Rose Morgan and Lena Horne, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Alfred Baker Lewis, Oren W. Riley, Mrs. Bessie

style to which they have become accustomed.

To do this the Foundation has a distinctive trademark representing the "scales of justice" which, at the solicitation of a manufacturer or other business, can be used on his line of merchandise.

This will inform consumers that the Foundation is sharing in the proceeds of every sale. Meanwhile the Foundation conducts a separate campaign to familiarize the Negro market with the trademark and its significance.

* * *

THE FOUNDATION hastens to add that its trademark "is not up for sale nor exchangeable for contributions from any source," and that while it has certain requirements as to standards, it does not pass on "the relative or competitive merit of these products."

It simply encourages the Negro buyer to purchase the trademarked products with the knowledge that part of what he spends will be used to help speed the day when full civil rights will be enjoyed by every American.

Now this is what I call smart and I feel sure that it has never been done before. The trademark of a pair of scales within a double circle with the initials NFB below it is attractive and conspicuous whether on the product or on the window of a store.

Even if the Foundation should only get 1 per cent of the sales in this \$15 billion market, it would mean the tremendous sum of \$150 million to finance the fight for civil rights, after expenses. Of course, it will probably not get that much, but one can see the amazing possibilities.

The "take" from the sales of beer, wine and liquor alone (which are proportionately greatest among Negroes) would be sufficient to wage a full scale attack on all forms of segregation and discrimination in every one of the 3,600 counties in the United States. And when you think of foods, clothing, hardware, house furnishings, musical instruments, automobiles, etc., purchased by three million Negro families, the outlook is breath-taking.

For the sake of our future, we cannot help but wish the new Foundation well.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Negroes Must Be Aroused From Lethargy to Battle Jim Crow

BACK in 1930 I wrote an article for the American Mercury on "Traveling Jim Crow" which was later condensed in Reader's Digest. It dealt with the onerous restrictions and handicaps

encountered by

United States. About a dozen years later, "Va-



SCHUYLER

cation Daze,"

lines, but dealing

with only sum-

mer camps and

hotels in New

York, Pennsyl-

vania and New

Jersey appeared

in Common

Ground. This was

followed in 1949

by another American Mercury piece en-

titling "Jim Crow in the North."

All of

these articles required considerable re-

search and I think they brought the is-

rights, after expenses.

Of course, it will

sue to the attention of millions of people

who might not otherwise have thought

about this evil in their midst.

Continued p. 7

HAVE CONDITIONS improved in the last few years? In some areas, yes. Dinners and conferences have been held in many Southern "white" hotels where this would not have been possible in 1930. The number of hosteries and restaurants serving Negroes in the North, East and Far West have considerably increased. There has been a veritable revolution in Southern railroad transpor-

tation and accommodation. Recently I rode through Mississippi in the dining car and lounge of the Illinois Central's "Panama Limited," which would have been almost impossible in 1926 when I first visited those parts. I have had similar experience recently elsewhere in Dixie. The curtains are down now and the Pullman accommodations are readily available. Municipal facilities in several Southern cities have been made available for Negro conventions, and in the case of Miami Beach, Fla., hotels and restaurants have been thrown open to

dark-skinned delegates.

* * *

HOWEVER, THESE are exceptions. So far as accommodations for colored travelers are concerned, the situation in the South is little different from what it was in 1926, except that the Negro-owned or operated restaurants, tourist homes and hotels are better than they were a quarter century ago.

This is due to the fact that the segregation laws are still on the books and they are nowhere interpreted liberally in our favor. There is little chance of repealing them until Negroes in the various Southern states increase their voting power. Since I believe a large segment of the white population of Dixie is indifferent to the continuation of these laws, its and the Negro vote could route the stand-patters on this issue. Of course

a whole lot depends upon the Negroes themselves. Nobody except Negroes is going to propagandize them to qualify for the franchise, so it is up to our religious, civic and business groups to do so.

* * *

IN MUCH of the North and East the improvements in the system of public accommodations for Negroes have been dramatic in some places and very little in others. Even in New York State, with its powerful laws against racial exclusion, there are occasional refusals here and there, but increasingly it is covert rather than overt. In almost all of the big cities, hotels are open to us, even if our patronage is not solicited, and perhaps privately deplored. The restaurant situation improves rapidly. I am served in many places now where there would have been no chance whatever twenty years ago.

Motels and tourist camps are less willing and often refuse. The whole situation is spotty today, but generally far better than it was.

* * *

IT IS DIFFERENT in the Western states, with the possible exception of the Pacific Coast. There are no jim-crow laws, but there might as well be. Negro motorists still have to drive hundreds of miles for a place to eat and sleep because hotels and motels are closed to them, and the managers make no bones about it. A Courier employe who re-

cently drove across country was bitter in denunciation of Western refusal to serve the party. In states where there are scarcely any Negroes, colored service people stationed near cities and towns can often find no place where they can buy a meal or a drink or a bed. In some places signs are boldly displayed stating that the management reserves the right to refuse service, which means to refuse Negroes service. So far as the Negro traveler is concerned, the West is as rugged as it was in pioneer days, perhaps more so.

This is why I think the National Bar Association is to be commended for the drive it has been making, through a special committee, to educate the public to the extent of jim-crowism in the West, and to mobilize support so that something can be done to end it.

* * *

AS FAR AS THAT is concerned, I should like to see Negroes in every community where jim-crowism in public accommodation obtains do more to eliminate it. Mass meetings, cooperative advertising in newspapers and over local radios, lobbying in the state legislatures, contacting the white ministers, labor leaders and civic heads—all could be used effectively both in Montana and Mississippi. Year after year no protest comes from local Negroes against this insulting and degrading situation, so it is assumed they are satisfied. If we would make enough noise and mobilize enough power, we could lick that problem as we did residential segregation and unequal teachers' pay and public school inequalities. Our principal problem right now is to rouse Negroes from their lethargy.

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WORLD
+ TODAY
By George S. Schuyler

BALTIMORE with its first Negro fireman, New York with its first deputy inspector of police, and Philadelphia with the first Negro Moderator of its Preliminary, went up the advances we are making on many fronts, and all on merit alone.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Screams for Justice Will Be in Vain Unless We Understand Politics

A FEW DAYS ago a very intelligent lady came to my office for a chat. Her principal concern was with what we should do nationally about civil rights and similar matters on the political front. I agreed that we all should be concerned with such matters because of our position in the United States, but I suggested that



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I pointed out that what politicians were primarily concerned with was patronage and power, and that these could not be obtained without first winning elections.

The basis for winning elections is ability to carry a sufficient number of election districts, and that this is determined by the strength of the political organization in the community.

If not enough election districts can be carried, an organization loses, and the nominees of the rival group are elected. Without elected officials from the organization, it gets no power or patronage, and without that it dies.

* * *

A POLITICAL organization that can carry and guarantee control of a certain number of election districts, wards, counties or congressional districts is in line for consideration and, indeed, is woe.

It can claim its share of the spoils of victory and name the job it wants. The only other way to write your ticket is to contribute heavily to a campaign fund, and collect after election day if your candidate is successful. *Dat. 9-12-53*

Wherever Negroes have done this in any community they have received concrete rewards in better jobs and/or services.

Washington and the state capitol are a long way off, and if you have nothing concrete to offer, politicians will listen politely to petitions for justice and fair play, write a favorable letter or make a kindly speech, but that's about all. How-

"Look, we control such-and-such districts which we carried in the last election and which provided the margin for your victory. Now our people are expecting some rewards for their loyalty, and for certain specified districts, and build them that they are looking to you and to me everywhere in the country, we can do more to improve the economic, political

This reminder usually gets immediate attention because in it there is an implied threat that next time this politician may not get the support that elected him. If he doesn't realize this his political boss does.

* * *

THAT IS practical politics, and it always pays off. Not enough Negroes are qualifying to vote, joining their neighborhood political organizations and helping to create a solid front and dominate their districts.

Although their needs are greater than the average citizen's, they are not taking half as much interest, and this is true in the North as well as in the South.

There may be five or ten thousand Negroes in a district and not over a couple hundred will belong to any political organization, although they all seem to expect salvation through politics.

Far greater political progress could be made throughout the South, despite some opposition here and there, if there were as many organizations concerned with getting out and organizing the Negro vote as there are groups trying to provide for their burial and the salvation of their souls after death.

It is far easier to get 500 of our people to a dance or a picnic than it is to get them to enroll in a district political club and attend occasional meetings where business is transacted.

* * *

As I told the lady, unless and until we get a better understanding of political realities and act upon it, we shall scream for justice and fairplay largely in vain.

For the last several years many of those Negroes who have shown some interest in politics have been led astray by the nonsense of trying to punish at the polls this or that individual politician they were told was an enemy of the race by professional propagandists.

Thus, they have squandered their votes tilting at individual windmills instead of consolidating their district strength and sticking to a definite party organization regardless of individual transient politicians who did not meet their favor.

The time and place to select individuals ever, if spokesmen for the group can say: is in the primaries. After that it is organizational loyalty that counts.

* * *

IF WE can build strong, local political organizations that can definitely deliver some rewards for their loyalty, and for certain specified districts, and build them that they are looking to you and to me everywhere in the country, we can do more to improve the economic, political

A dozen strong, well-organized political groups are worth a hundred mass meetings and a shoal of protesting releases or leaflets.

When we learn that lesson we shall make plenty of progress.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

"Liberal" French Face Full-fledged Race Problem

WITHOUT a doubt the loudest critics of U. S. racism, notably since their liberation in 1945, have been the allegedly tolerant and justice-loving French who, in proportion to their population, have received the largest gobs of American dinero, and twice been saved by U. S. arms from the clutches of the Huns. Taking advantage of the incredible fiction that

the Gauls are incurable Negrophiles (despite the fact that Gobineau, a Frenchman, was a father of modern racism), they have taken malicious satisfaction in making the welkin ring with tales of the horrors

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Wright's Communist propaganda tract, "Native Son"; Jean Paul Sartre's "Respectful Prostitute" and the hysterical fictions of Josephine Baker. This was beaucouplist in the Communist propaganda mill which was given added authenticity by the anti-American wails of Negro GI students and itinerant scribblers transiently in France spending American dollars while biting the hand that fed them.

Paradoxically this stepped-up propaganda drive against the United States came in a period when American racial bias was at its lowest ebb in history, when our Senegambians were enjoying unparalleled prosperity and when our Government and courts were more industriously than ever seeking to eradicate the worst evils of Crackerism.



THE INFERENCE from this deluge "citizens" from Africa are understandably of fictions about American racism was that forced into all sorts of crime and dope nothing of the sort could possibly exist selling in order to live, so the gendarmes under the Tri-color.

Unfortunately this hoiter-than-thou pretension concealed a Louvre-full of national French skeletons. While loudly bemoaning the indefensible lynching of a dozen American blacks and the occasional bombing of some U. S. Negro's \$15,000 residence in a "white" section, the tolerant French were slaughtering 15,000 Algerian natives and violently eliminating the dissident blacks in Madagascar. The rough treatment of the colored ~~people~~ in French West and Equatorial Africa during the half dozen decades since the gentle Gauls moved in with cannon and machine guns, is well known by students of colonialism. It makes Malan's Negrophobia seem like sweet charity.

However, this rugged policy of liquidation in the outer reaches of empire was unknown or ignored by the citizens and lovers of La Belle France. In the Metropolitan areas the scattering of sepia students, petty officials, artists and musicians from France's colonies and the United States were willingly served and permitted to live wherever they could and with whom they wished. Only an occasional disillusioned Negro like Claude McKay (see his "Banjo") cast doubt on the fiction.

* * *

NEVER HAVING swallowed this opiate about the superior tolerance of the Gauls, I was not surprised when I visited Gay Paree in 1950, and discovered that the so-called City of Light had a full-fledged racial problem, and that gendarmes there were whipping the heads of these hapless colonials with more abandon than the cops of Birmingham, Memphis and Jacksonville. I duly reported this to our readers. It was the first time most of them had heard of it although dozens of our writers had been there before me and come back shouting the praises of the tolerant French in the columns of our weeklies.

Last week the public prints carried a long AP dispatch about the dilemma of the French in dealing with the more than 300,000 colored North Africans who have invaded the Republic in pursuit of Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite. Less than 50,000 have been able to find any place to live, the remainder sleeping in alleys or shacked up, a dozen to a room, in slums that make any American rockeries seem palatial. Only 138,887 have found jobs, mostly menial. Anybody who has tried to get a work permit in France knows how tolerantly the organized French workers let unemployed outsiders starve to death. They want no competition.

THESE DARK-SKINNED, wooly-haired "citizens" from Africa are understandably of fictions about American racism was that forced into all sorts of crime and dope nothing of the sort could possibly exist selling in order to live, so the gendarmes are kept busy. Killings, knifings, beatings and rape are of nightly occurrence. Police brutality is the order of the day. Riots between the gendarmes and the North Africans are frequent. One on July 14 in the Place de la Nation netted seven killed and scores injured. Fights between Negroes and whites roaming in gangs are a nightly affair. It is reported that some Frenchmen are seriously wondering how long it will be before a color bar will have to be erected if the Africans keep streaming in.

Before these Africans were made citizens in 1946, they could be kept out of France and compelled to live like swine in the rural and urban colonial slums, far from the eyes of the white folks at home and the tourists from abroad. Now they have to be freely admitted. They are entering in such numbers, without money, without skills and without jobs, that the French are getting jittery, what with the ubiquitous Communists egging the newcomers on to violence.

So the chances are that you will hear less and less loud-mouthed French denunciation of the "persecution" of American Negroes by "soul-less capitalists" as the color problem grows in France. Naturally the Reds have launched no world-wide campaigns to "Save the Algerians and Moroccans" beaten, bruised and murdered by the colorfully garbed gendarmes and white civilian mobs. What have Richard Wright and Josephine Baker got to say

PROpagandists sought to lead our people to believe that the Korean imbroglio was a war of colored people against "white imperialism," and that in some strange way our interests lay with the Red aggressors because we were also colored. Now we have heard the real story from our sons who suffered the tortures of the damned inflicted by their colored "brothers."

Dad 11-7-53
THE NATION mourns the death of Elizabeth Ross Haynes, one of its outstanding women and one whose achievements and services placed us all in her debt. For two generations she demonstrated the capacity of the trained Negro woman to measure up to the highest standards in our society.

TRINIDAD is anxious about the same Red menace that engulfed British Guiana and lost it the political gains its people had achieved. Trinidad's Governor Rance warns that the Government is on guard. It should be. Tiny groups of Red conspirators directed from Harlem and Moscow play cleverly on the fears, ignorance, envies and poverty of the masses in each Caribbean island. The technique varies, but the goal remains the same.

* * *

RACIAL discrimination was put on the other foot last week when thirteen Georgia Central Railway white firemen filed \$100,000 Federal suit against the railroad and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. The charge discrimination because they were required to take a qualifying examination while Negro firemen were not! Sounds like black supremacy.

Dad 11-7-53
IN PARADOX last week was the United States joining in adoption of a resolution calling on South Africa to set aside its racial segregation policy. Malan might well reply, "How about you, Sam?"... Now that the resolution has passed, what will

be done about South Africa? Nothing.

SOUTH AFRICAN racial segregation will be settled within that country, not by interference from without. The UN will not vote to impose either economic, political or military sanctions, and nothing else can be done to tame the Boers. There will have to be a compromise or a civil war in South Africa, and the blacks only have passive resistance and non-cooperation as weapons. They can use them effectively.

The WORLD + TODAY

By George S. Schuyler

OUR BOYS in considerable number were among the 6,113 Americans the Reds tortured or slew in Korea. While this was going on some of our "leaders" were complaining because GI fighters were calling their opponents "Gooks." There are certainly worse and more appropriate names.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Negro Newspapers' Failure to Attack Communism a Disgrace

THE FAILURE of the Negro press generally to make any noteworthy attack on communism is a national scandal and certainly a grave disservice to its readers. Attempts to explain this world conspiracy and how it operates everywhere to undermine and destroy freedom have been negligible almost to the point of non-existence in our newspapers and magazines. At best our editors and columnists have been Communists: i.e., "I'm not a Communist, but . . ." followed by weakening and nullifying attempts to equate the handicaps and frustrations we suffer here with the monstrous crimes inflicted upon humanity wherever communism has come to power. In many instances this has amounted to an oblique aid and comfort to the Communist line. I have not noticed any anti-communism, conspicuous or otherwise.



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* * *

ONE READS with mounting irritation their anti-anti-Communist arguments:

(a) The danger of communism is exaggerated because there are only a few party members. This ignores the fact that involves the enslavement of the masses; in every country the Reds have captured 800 million people behind the Iron Curtain, is everywhere accompanied by suppression of other parties and the liquidation of all dissenters; (4) that its program calls for

(b) Anybody contending for civil rights and social equality is being dubbed a Com-modity" which is only worth what a Red communist. This is simply a lie invented by government says it is worth, and thus de-Communists as a counter-propaganda de-stroys thrift and initiative; and (5) it vice to offset the fact that some fighters everywhere destroys the free press, free for equal rights have been sucked into the education and free churches, substituting Red movement. Numerous leaders in the gross materialism for the spiritual values Negro's fight for full citizenship have never without which man descends to the level been called Communists simply because of the beasts.

Our press has fallen down on the job of explaining this, and this failure is a

(c) We should first end all injustices, national scandal.

THE NEGRO PRESS generally has followed the anti-anti-Communist line of "progressive" publications that sneer at and smear any attempt, Congressional or otherwise, to determine the extent of this century-old conspiracy and attempt to combat it. Such individuals and committees are dubbed reactionaries or at best conservatives, and it is implied that they are enemies of the Negroes, minions of Wall Street, hirelings of British imperialism or paid apologists of the Klan and Malan. In almost the same breath that they denounce anti-Communists with the tag of "McCarthyism," "McCarranism" "hysteria" and "witch hunting," they imply their own innocence of smear tactics. They say it is simply horrid to criticize prominent people, the presumably educated, who were foolish enough to join pro-Communist or Red-

A DISTRESSING number of Negro journalists while disparaging anti-communism as witch hunting and McCarthyism, have neglected to present to their readers the fundamental issues involved. They have failed to point out that inasmuch as almost all organizations, institutions and

societies are actually administered by a few people in the name of the majority, a few strategically placed officials can easily commit vast numbers of people to supporting Communist aims without them being aware of it. It is the business of publications serving the general public to explain the situation rather than making it appear that certain professors, writers, clergymen and college presidents are being terribly persecuted because it is disclosed that they are fellow travelers.

Det. 8-32-53

OUR PRESS has failed to make clear to its readers that communism is: (1) a conspiracy to abolish by force private ownership of property—and Negroes own 200,000 farms, 60,000 businesses, over 1,000,000 homes, 2,000,000 automobiles and much other property; (2) that it is working for centralized ownership and control of all the major means of production, distribution and exchange which inevitably

(3) that it always leads to a one-party dictatorship (over the proletariat) which

800 million people behind the Iron Curtain, is everywhere accompanied by suppression

of other parties and the liquidation of all

dissenters; (4) that its program calls for

destruction of savings by "managed cur-

rents" which is only worth what a Red

communist. This is simply a lie invented by government says it is worth, and thus de-

Communists as a counter-propaganda de-stroys

thrift and initiative; and (5) it

vice to offset the fact that some fighters everywhere destroys the free press, free

for equal rights have been sucked into the education and free churches, substituting

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Negro's fight for full citizenship have never without which man descends to the level

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Our press has fallen down on the job

of explaining this, and this failure is a

national scandal.

Course P 1

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

In Defense of Jimmy Byrnes and His UN Appointment

THE TEMPEST in a teapot over the appointment of Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina as U. S. delegate to the United Nations is pathetically amusing. It is like a colony of ants on the end of a log floating down the Mississippi River arguing over destiny.

The hassle was launched by my good friend Walter White of the NAACP who was taken to task in the New York Times by Max Yergan. The association's secretary then counter attacked in the New York Times and through the NAACP press release, spicing his rejoinder with irrelevant "smears" to the effect that Yergan once headed the subversive National Negro Congress and had recently defended Prime Minister Malan of South Africa.

Incidentally, this tactic sounds like the "McCarthyism" which Mr. White never tires of denouncing. Moreover, several officers and NAACP directors were also members of the National Negro Congress, and one NAACP officer headed it for nearly ten years! There is, of course, no evidence whatever that Yergan defended Malan. That charge is liquidating the truth.

INTO THE fight jumped the AMEZ Bishops who were holding their 1953 connectional council in Cleveland, blasting the Byrnes appointment because: "Governor Byrnes as a member of Congress, a cabinet officer, assistant to the President, justice of the Supreme Court and Governor of South Carolina, has consistently and wantonly opposed the equal rights of Negro citizens."

Dr. Yergan replied to Dr. White's counter-attack with a reply sent broadcast to the press.

As I say, this is all a tempest in a teapot. The President chooses distinguished members of both parties as delegates as UN delegate, and Byrnes whom they and alternates to the UN, and the AMEZ did oppose.

Bishops' listing of the positions Byrnes

has held, plus his high place in his party, is sufficient indication of his qualifications regardless of his views on racial segregation and discrimination, which, incidentally, do not fundamentally differ from those of any other Southern Democrat (or several Northern ones, for that matter).

* * *

THE CONTRAST between his uproar over Byrnes and the silence that greeted the appointment of Senator John J. Sparkman as UN delegate by President Truman is marked.

I can recall no tortured wail of opposition either from Mr. White or the Reverend Bishops, and yet I can find no difference between the racial attitude of Byrnes and Sparkman. I visited Huntsville, Ala., interviewed Negroes there and in Birmingham about Sparkman, and learned that his attitude toward Negroes had always been negative.

The Senator entered Congress in 1937, and since that time has voted twenty-three times against civil rights legislation. In a radio speech on April 17, 1950, before Truman made him UN delegate, he said:

"I am against the civil rights proposals, always have been and always will be. One of the first votes I cast upon going to Congress fourteen years ago was against one of these bills. Almost every year since then I have voted against such proposals."

Sparkman chiefly wrote the 1952 Democrat party plank on civil rights. Dr. White hailed this toothless conglomeration as a great document (while cold to the Republican one) but Governor Talmadge of Georgia described it thus:

"That plank is round, square and rectangular—all at the same time. It all depends on how you want to look at it. It's nothing but a two-way street. You can walk in any direction you want to."

Others who joined Dr. White in eulogizing the plank were Governor Byrnes and Governor Stevenson. Politics makes strange bedfellows!

"You can't find FEPC mentioned in it, and there's no word of compulsion."

* * *

So, there doesn't seem to be much difference between Sparkman whom Dr. White and the Bishops did NOT oppose and alternates to the UN, and the AMEZ did oppose.

There is no reason to dispute Governor

Dewey of New York who called Sparkman "leader of the jim-crow bloc in the U. S. Senate," but following the Alabaman's nomination, Dr. White wrote no letters denouncing him. True, Byrnes is against educational integration and social equality, but when has Sparkman been for them?

Accepting the current "liberal" thesis that the representatives the U. S. sends to the UN determine our reputation in foreign countries, did Sparkman's record against civil rights hurt us? If not, will that of Byrnes be injurious?

* * *

IF SOME of our more zealous "defenders" are going to oppose every man in public life because he does not agree with us on racial issues, then we are going to be out of step very frequently. Since President Eisenhower doesn't believe in compulsory Federal FEPC, are we going to support the Chief Executive or are we going to be suckered into violent opposition and out of step with the country?

I recall how a group of fellow-traveling NAACP directors belonging to organizations cited as subversive once led the board into opposing Civil Defense because a former Florida Governor headed it. Only the violent objection of Dr. Louis T. Wright compelled the board to reconsider.

I think Yergan has a point when he says "the issue is the primary and overall interest of the United States in its conflict with Soviet Russia." Carrying our domestic quarrels into the highly charged international arena does not benefit the USA, nor the fifteen million Negroes who rise or fall with it.

~~George S. Schuyler~~

Views and Reviews

Deliberate Distortion, Inadequate Coverage and News Slanting

NEGRO publishers at their next meeting might well consider remedies for some of the deliberate distortion, inadequate coverage and calculated slanting of news to fit editorial prejudices rather than to serve the readers which characterizes some of our publications. This sort of journalism is cheap and petty, and is so regarded by the increasingly educated readers who determine the reputation of newspapers.

This is the sort of thing for which we used to virulently denounce white-owned newspapers, and now

some of our own publications have permitted the same practice. To be sure many white publications are still guilty of these unjournalistic practices, but that scarcely excuses some of our own. It is the business of a newspaper to present all sides of as much news as it can get, and to reserve its bias for the editorial page which deals with opinion rather than news. Even that opinion should be fair, since all classes of people read it.

DR. PETER MARSHALL MURRAY, distinguished New York gynecologist, member of the American Medical Association's House of Delegates and president-elect of the N. Y. County Medical Society, is a colored man. What he says about medical practice and administration deserves respectful attention. 7-25-23

In New York City there is currently a controversy over a free clinic in a public housing project. The State Housing Commissioner is for it; most doctors, including Dr. Murray, are against it. You would think responsible newspapermen would present both sides so readers could arrive at informed conclusions. But one Negro reporter yells, "A thumb in our nose to



Mr. Schuyler

Dr. Peter M. Murray," and then calls him all the names customarily used by Negroes in lieu of sound argument, such as Uncle Tom, stooge of Mister Charlie, etc., etc. When you finished this screed, you know no more about the issue than when you started.

ANOTHER PAPER of large circulation outdid the most biased white papers in editorializing on the charges made by Dr. J. B. Matthews in the July American Mercury that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States is composed of Protestant clergymen." Of course, as in New-Fair Deal and fellow traveling white dailies, this editor twisted this into an attack on "all Protestant ministers" and by inference on all religion. For almost an entire double column this man deliberately misinformed his readers as to the real issues involved in the current controversy which, incidentally, was dishonest from the first.

Now what are the facts? As one who has almost within arm's reach every report issued by the various committees investigating communism and Communist infiltration, and besides has kept a file on Negro dupes, "innocents" and fellow travelers for many years, I can testify to the truth of Dr. Matthews' article. Negro clergymen, all Protestants, have been particularly vulnerable to Communist propaganda and in scores of instances have permitted their names and prestige to be used to hornswoggle the unsuspecting Negro public into supporting Communist-inspired and -directed programs and organizations.

The same data I have is available to this editor but he chose to deny the obvious and thus slyly undermine faith and confidence in the Government's efforts to preserve freedom.

The crowning irony was the sending of a reporter to get views from four (of 200) local preachers, and two of these are notorious fellow travelers.

A RECENT "NEWS" STORY emanating from Washington, D. C., ran interference for the notorious Kremlinite, Doxey Wilkerson, who recently clammed up on whether or not he is a Commie, by credit-

ing Senator McCarthy with the desire to burn all books which expose America's racial discrimination. This was a deliberate lie. There is no such statement by McCarthy or anybody else in the transcript of testimony. Nobody has asked that any books be burned either here or abroad, and few if any have been, although I can think of thousands that could well be.

Another widely read Negro paper regarded as responsible, followed the current line of smearing and smoke-screening which makes one suspicious of its editorial intelligence or its patriotism. That this editor is an intellectual midget is indicated by his statement that "communism is an idea, with the great spiritual appeal of all ideas." No word to readers that communism is a vicious world conspiracy against freedom, and that it captures free people through subversive cells planted in all unions, schools, churches, businesses and institutions everywhere!

NATURALLY, when several Negro publications pounced upon S. J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Memorial Foundation for his Fourth of July speech "defending" segregation, I was suspicious and promptly asked for a transcript — as the editors should have done before editorializing.

Dr. Phillips gave one of the best analytical discussions of segregation I have read, and I am sorry space shortage prevents carrying the text. Begin with the observation that "I deplore the thought of the term, for it connotes the idea of second-class, without freedom, and without opportunity to advance in any sphere of one's livelihood," he proceeded to discuss the Negro's whole situation in the post-Civil War world in a realistic manner, mentioning that some benefits had accrued from it, considering the prejudice and competition with which Negroes were confronted. How can anybody at all familiar with the facts dispute that? Why the smearing for stating what everybody knows? Is this journalism? Or is it propaganda? Looks like some of our newsmen have a long way to go.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

They Didn't Like the Professor's Book. So They Fired Him

Listen my children and you shall hear
Why McMillan was thrown out on his ear.

AFTER six years as professor of history at South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College (which is neither!), Dr. Lewis K. McMillan was unceremoniously booted out of his job, effective June 30, 1953. It was done in a manner resembling the rugged methods of the Kremlin bosses, although this concept of academic freedom is familiar to those who know our Negro colleges and universities.

Strangely enough, there has been slight, if any, columnar or editorial comment on this outrage in the Negro press which gets excited very easily. If Professor McMillan had been tossed off an inter-state bus, refused service at El Gougo cabaret or had his reservation turned down at Le Casanoxe tourist home, one would have been able to read the headlines at a distance of two hundred paces. If he had been haled before one of the Congressional investigating committees, a hundred editorial hearts would have bled profusely over his "persecution" and President Eisenhower would have been asked to act at once. One could have heard the splashing of the crocodile tears. Instead there has been virtual silence.

WHY WAS the learned doctor heaved out of that academic department store? I am afraid the general public does not know nor has it had much information from those busy gnashing their teeth over Malan and Mau Mau.

Well, Dr. McMillan incurred the burning enmity of the president of South Carolina State because he took academic freedom seriously and wrote a scathing historical critique of the state's Negro colleges entitled "Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina" (\$5. The author, P. O. Box 207, Orangeburg, S. C.).



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I had planned to skim lightly through it, a page here and a page there, but found the work so absorbing that I finished it in one sitting.

* * *

DEALING IN turn with the junior and senior private and public colleges of South Carolina for the supposed education of Negro youth, he exposes their inadequacies, their false pretensions and their Amos 'n' Andy administrations. It is an overall sad picture. The situation would be comic if it were not so tragic. Whether private or public, whether run by whites or blacks, the "education" they dispense is a cruel travesty.

Says the doughty professor: "State College's chief historical significance is essentially a negative one . . . It has never been more than a glorified high school . . . (it) has served throughout its existence as an excuse for public higher education for South Carolina's Negroes . . . It has helped amazingly to perpetuate racial caste in the state."

* * *

"THE SOUTH CAROLINA private Negro college," he charges, "falls down on all the major points. They are failures now, all of them, and their complete failure is clearly to be seen on the horizon . . . It will not be a long time now before the crash comes when all the denominational colleges will be dropped from the shoulders of the disillusioned and exhausted supporters."

Allen "University" has "a despotic ecclesiastical regime" and Claflin "is scarcely much better," the author asserts. Morris and Benedict Colleges are weighed and found wanting in about everything. "These two perishing creatures are currently engaged in the struggle . . . of killing off each other in order that each might live."

All of these private institutions "operate in the stale, slimy, sickly waters of Negro racism." The Negro college heads are "a perfectly helpless lot" while their schools are "short on everything that it takes to conduct a dynamically meaningful program of higher education."

It is charged that "self-perpetuating ignorance, aggressive selfishness and brutal materialism make up the scheme of things conditioning this leadership . . . This is always a clumsy unknowing despotism." Of the graduating classes, Mc-

Millan says: "Instead of pledging their loyalty to the alma maters' growth and development, they swear vengeance." Intending no pun, the author concludes that "the outlook for public higher education for Negroes in the State of South Carolina is very dark. Practically everything remains yet to be done; even the beginning has yet to be made."

* * *

SO, UNDERSTANDABLY, Professor McMillan had to go. The manner of his ousting was typical of these academic plantations that clutter the Southern countryside. On Feb. 2, 1953, McMillan announced at a faculty meeting the publication of his book ten days hence. Although he had read neither the book nor the manuscript, the president called the author on to the carpet and raged and ranted because he had neither been consulted nor informed of the project. He declared his policy was "to forbid any member of the staff to villify the college or any sister institution," and reminded Mr. McMillan rather ominously that "you have a good job here at the college."

So, Professor McMillan was fired. He had no trial, no privilege of defending himself before the all-white trustee board which apparently okays such arbitrary actions of the president. The first he heard of his dismissal was from a college janitor, the second informant was a cook in a white family, while the third was a teacher at Claflin. Several days later McMillan received the president's letter, just fifty-three days before he was slated to go!

This book is the best brief for educational equality in the South that I have ever read. The author's treatment was outrageous. Are our writers sufficiently concerned to crusade in his behalf? I wonder.

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Views and Reviews

The Muddy Thinking of Dr. Max Yergan's Critics

DR. MAX YERGAN'S sharply disputed interview on communism in Africa in U. S. News and World Report is now well over two months old, but one of my colleagues belatedly joins the other critics, repeating all the false and asinine chatter that lowered the intellectual prestige of his predecessors.

It is getting so that any Negro who seeks to state the facts which dispute the current propaganda line of the professional demagoggs, is promptly denounced as an "apologist for colonial powers," "white supremacist" (an expression straight from Communist Agitprop), and a minion of white planters or some "reactionary" government. The critics in this case have even paraded their ignorance by denying that most of the African agitators and politicians are Communists or fellow travelers, or at best Socialists, whose objectives are in any event the same.

Illustrative of the muddy thinking of these Yergan critics is the charge of this politicians. Most of them were actually one that the African authority said the whites are justified in their fear of being engulfed by Africans; but in the very next breath he asserts that "any system and ignored the substance of democratic equality in Africa must mean the immediate destruction of white rule." Now isn't this saying the same thing? *8.1*

ONLY A TINY fraction of the hand- ful of educated African blacks are trained in skills and professions essential to the continent's development. These are for- estry, animal husbandry, agriculture, fish- ing, chemistry, sanitation, architecture, engineering, transportation, hydro-elec- tricity, food preservation and mineralogy. Poverty-stricken Tanganyika will re- main a U. N. trust area.

are lawyers, preachers, welfarists, writers, sociologists, journalists, teachers and miners and plantations in the Rhodesias will not be moved by protestations of un- one that the African authority said the ruined for any real service to their peo- armed blacks who depend upon them for jobs.

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Of the 4,000-odd African and West Indian students in Britain a year ago, less than a tenth were studying anything really useful to Africa . . . It is not too far different among our Negro students here, for that matter.

THE PROBLEMS besetting Africa are partially political but largely economic. Three times the size of the U.S.A., about two-fifths is desert and other vast areas are almost barren. About nine-tenths of the people are totally illiterate and unaware that the rest of the world exists. *8.1*

WHETHER WE LIKE this situation or not, there it is; and we should applaud rather than criticize those who broaden and clarify our perspectives. I am all in favor of these different African peoples having their own presidents, prime minis-



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ters, legislatures, flags and armies, but these alone are incapable of making any people free. They are the icing on the cake—and you've still got to have cake.

Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, the canniest politician of them all in the country best fitted for independence, understands these problems better than Dr.

Yergan's critics. He is cooperating with tribal antagonisms and ages-old super-white folks like mad because they have institutions. No part of Africa can be the two things he does not have: i. e., developed agriculturally or industrially knowledge and money. To implement his without white cooperation and direction, ambitious urban housing plan he called to say nothing of financing. These are in Swedish and Dutch experts.

the easily ascertainable facts. They can- He has just employed Dr. Arthur Mor- not be obliterated by heaving epithets gan of TVA fame as adviser on the im- about. If there weren't a white man in mense Volta River aluminum production Africa the problems of the people would project. To finance it he is dependent be dire. *8.1* upon the British Government and the Ca-

In a rapidly changing world, the old nadian Aluminum Corporation for the African methods of crop growing, fish- necessary \$403 million, and is seeking and animal husbandry generally have large sums from the International Bank not improved; and coupled with inade- for Reconstruction and Development and quate transportation, not enough is pro- the U. S. Mutual Security Administration. duced to afford the people a nutritious This is white imperialism, but Nkrumah diet. No wonder diseases flourish. Most knows that neither Gold Coast nor any of the Africans live under the same con- other African land can progress with- ditions they did ten centuries ago, except out it.

for the incessant wars which wracked the land. This is unfortunate, and the same *8.1-18-53* TALK OF CHASING out the whites is true of most of Asia's people. We have from anywhere is idiocy. When has any to admit it and face it.

8.1 *8.1-18-53* ONLY A TINY fraction of the hand- ful of educated African blacks are trained in skills and professions essential to the continent's development. These are for- estry, animal husbandry, agriculture, fish- ing, chemistry, sanitation, architecture, engineering, transportation, hydro-elec- tricity, food preservation and mineralogy. Poverty-stricken Tanganyika will re- main a U. N. trust area.

The 200,000 whites owning the mills, mines and plantations in the Rhodesias are lawyers, preachers, welfarists, writers, sociologists, journalists, teachers and miners and plantations in the Rhodesias will not be moved by protestations of un-

one that the African authority said the ruined for any real service to their peo- armed blacks who depend upon them for jobs.

After three centuries' residence, the three million whites of South Africa, who own and control everything, are not going to capitulate to the eight million Zulus who have resided there no longer.

When you cannot win by force, what do you do? If you're smart you confer, negotiate and cooperate, as Dr. Yergan has suggested.

That is what African leaders are going to do, despite the name-calling of those far from the scene who would sub- stitute demagogery for deeds.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Government of Haiti Most Unjustifiably Criticized

IN MY opinion the Government of Haiti has been most unjustifiably criticized during ~~recent~~ for its alleged objection to the appointment of a United States Ambassador of Negro descent. Our journalists have discredited themselves and their profession by lending their talents to this attack for which there was no basis in fact. I speak as one who probably knows more about the circumstances surrounding this issue than anybody outside the White House. I have not written about it before because there was really nothing to write about and I did not care to go half-cocked on a fishing expedition to embarrass either the Republic of Haiti or the Eisenhower Administration. The latter, I felt, needed more time to perfect its organization, and I knew it had been slow in making selection of personnel. However, in view of all the misinformation published, it is time to speak.

WHEN I RECEIVED a tip in early March that a Negro was being considered for the ambassadorship to Haiti, I immediately conferred with a Haitian official in New York who is close to President Magloire to ascertain that the reaction of the Haitian Government would be to such an appointment. He informed me that his Government would be delighted, and I so informed my source in Washington.

On April 10, I received a telephone call that a Negro had been selected for the post, that the Haitian Government had been asked if the person was acceptable, but that it had failed to reply, although some ten days had elapsed. Knowing that I was very close to many officials of that Government, I was asked to find out the cause of the delay. All these communications were of course confidential, and there is no reason even now to name names.



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THE FOLLOWING DAY I wrote a long letter setting forth what I had been told and sent it directly to the National Palace in Port au Prince by a friendly Haitian diplomat who was leaving that day by airplane for a routine visit to his country. In that letter I stressed "how imperative it is that the Haitian Government send its approval at once. Otherwise the U. S. Government may withdraw _____ name and substitute some white politician whose friendship for Haiti may be dubious. So please do what you can to expedite the Government's action on this matter which I believe to be advantageous to all concerned... I am sending this by _____."

On April 15, I received the following cable from the National Palace: "Information letter remitted _____ completely inexact. Haitian Chancellory

has not received any demand agreement."

On April 16, I cabled back: "Extremely grateful for enlightening information. Regards. Schuyler."

IN A LETTER to the National Palace in Port au Prince dated April 29, I wrote in part: "It was very necessary for me to find out from you whether the reason given for the delay in the approval of the appointment was true or not. I did not believe that there was any opposition in Port au Prince... We are now convinced that there is some secret opposition at this time and are presently engaged in tracking it down because we realize how mutually valuable this appointment would be..."

Being convinced of the integrity of my Haitian friends, I reluctantly concluded that the White House never sent the name of the Negro in question, or any other Negro, to the Haitian foreign office for approval; that therefore there could have been no delay in granting approval, and that my informant in Washington had been deliberately deceived by the persons in the White House handling appointments of diplomats. This was later confirmed by two events: i.e., the appointment of a white Marylander to be U. S. Ambassador to Haiti, and the statement made to me in confidence by a prominent white Republican politician during my recent visit to Washington. He said, in substance, that the Negro vote had gone so overwhelmingly Democrat during the past two or three Presidential elections

that he did not feel the GOP owed them anything; and that while some Negro appointments undoubtedly would be made, there would probably be no hurry about it because there were so many job-hungry whites clamoring to get on the payroll. There is, of course, much truth in that. However, I think the time is now close when some Negro appointments will be made. It is certainly high time.

FINALLY, I THINK the dragging in of the fancied color line in Haiti into the issue was most unfortunate and certainly unwarranted. Several U. S. Negroes have held diplomatic posts in Haiti and they must have been acceptable to the Haitian Foreign Office to have been received. Don Carlos Bassett was Minister to Haiti from 1869 to 1877. Frederick Douglass was Minister to Haiti from 1889 to 1891. Giles Hubert served as agricultural attache with the rank of Minister from 1948 until transferred in 1951 to India.

I have been to Haiti a half dozen times and neither officially nor socially have I observed any color line nor heard complaints of any. There are class lines, of course, and the unavoidable snobbery that goes with them; but whoever heard of a society without class lines? Any social gathering in Haiti will show as much color gradation as a similar one in colored America. It is the same in the Government, in the Army and in business where one observes Haitians from black to white.

My firm belief is that the Haitian Government would have welcomed a prominent, qualified U. S. Negro as Ambassador—if the White House had submitted one's name. I don't believe that it ever did.

31a memo
By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Ten Happy Days With the Late Bishop Monroe Davis on the Tropic Seas

THE recent death in Baltimore of that eminent South Carolinian, Bishop Monroe H. Davis, for many years a prince of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, gave me a sinking feeling and a twinge of regret. The news of his demise carried me back to February, 1931, when I first met the genial ecclesiastic on the M.S. Adda of the Elder Dempster Line en route from Liverpool to Monrovia.

As I recall it, we met shortly after the Adda moved out of the Liverpool dock and swung into the Irish Sea. That normally peaceful body of

water was, on this occasion, as rough as a bar full of stevedores, and I was one of the few who stayed in the salon until the last moment before ducking below. I was downing my final Scotch when this big, jovial Negro wended his way unevenly through the salon whose floor was heaving and dipping at the behest of the tempest. We introduced each other, promised to meet often during the ten-day trip, and then rushed below after the heavy buffeting of the next mountainous wave.

ALONG WITH US were Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Mitchell (he had just been appointed U. S. Minister to Liberia) and his valet, and as soon as the Adda negotiated the Irish Sea and the even more horrendous Bay of Biscay, we got together daily, sprawled in our deck chairs, and had a wonderful time exchanging jokes, stories, and reminiscences as we moved southward into the calm tropical sea. I recall with a chuckle the Bishop's tale about the sharecropper who kissed his mule and ecstatically exclaimed, "I wish you could cook!"

I knew a few myself, and Mr. Mitchell had an apparently inexhaustible supply. So there were successive gales of laughter from our sector which caused the white



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passengers, already bored with the journey, to pause in their endless deck-pacing, and wonder. P. 1 * *

THE AMIABLE BISHOP was a bon vivant who enjoyed a well-prepared meal, topped off with demi tasse and a good handmade cigar, and so we made an enjoyable trio. He owned a plantation in South Carolina which grew the tobacco used in his monographed cigars made to his order. He denounced the British for holding his supply in customs until he left England, thus forcing him to buy the inferior, but expensive, English cigars during his fortnight in the country.

I could sympathize with him because I had also undergone the ordeal of paying 2/6 (60 cents) for what was no better than a contemporary U. S. 10-cent cigar. I shall never forget my first afternoon in Liverpool when, unfamiliar with the money, I grabbed a handful of cigars from a box, only to drop them hastily and settle for one when I realized that they were so expensive.

* * *

BISHOP DAVIS had been to Liberia some time before and took a dim view of the famed Negro republic. He told, with a chuckle, of his landing there and his inability to get his baggage out of customs for several days because the customs officer was always absent when he showed up, reportedly being up country. Finally, he complained to some of the people at the Bishop's mansion about this difficulty.

"Did you dash the man?" they asked, meaning had he tipped the officials?

He shook his head negatively and in some surprise. *Attitude*

"Well," they said, "if you want your baggage you'd better dash them."

On the fourth day, he related, he went to the customs office as before, only to be told that the customs officer was still absent.

Det. 2-28-53
Having been alerted by church officials, he palmed a ten-shilling note (\$2.40) and passed it to the petty official while shaking hands on departure, saying, "I need my baggage very badly."

Glancing about, the flunkey pocketed the bill, and showing all his teeth promised,

"I'll do what I can."

When the good Bishop returned to his quarters after a leisurely walk, he found his bags and trunks piled neatly in the center of his bedroom, unopened!

* * *

BISHOP DAVIS laughed until the tears streamed down his face one day when we were passing the Cape Verde Islands. The male passengers in first-class pooled a bet on which of the towering peaks was Teneriffe, a slender 10,000-foot cone that seemed to rise straight out of the Atlantic. Bishop Davis won the pot, the others having guessed every island but the right one.

"You see," he chuckled, "I've been here before and you haven't. Don't ever bet with an expert!"

I was certainly sorry when the Bishop got off at Freetown, which was also in his jurisdiction. (He swore he'd never return to Liberia which he denounced in most un-Christian terms.) We never met again, but through the years whenever I read about him I recalled those ten happy days we spent together skimming through the tropic seas.

Full of wit and wisdom, amiable and tolerant, he made an ideal companion on an otherwise boresome cruise. If there is heavenly discourse, I imagine he has the angels chuckle.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Herb Wright Went From Candy to King-Sized Smokes

NEGROES OF ability and character are continuing to be recognized, employed and promoted by some of the biggest corporations in this country.

This is a most encouraging trend and should stimulate more of our youths to prepare themselves for careers in business.

The latest recognition of good service is the promotion of Herbert Wright to be assistant to the Sales Promotion Manager of Philip Morris and Company, after eight years of service, mostly as supervisor of its college program.

Mr. Schuyler With his office in the firm's headquarters in New York City, his operations will cover the nation in every market from coast to coast, especially pushing the sales of Philip Morris king-size cigarettes.

Continued on page 1
To things about Herbert Wright that it would be well for ambitious youths to ponder is (a) that he is educationally prepared, being a graduate of Morehouse College, and (b) that he has long been interested in the art of salesmanship.

People who are not properly schooled and are not enthusiastic about their work can never hope to even approach the top in any field.

Back when he was in high school, Herb Wright began selling candy and refreshments, and he continued it on the college campus. He majored in business administration and studied selling techniques. Upon leaving college, he went to selling insurance.

Dated 2-14-53
His training in college prepared him to later become chief of the Civilian Payroll Division at Tuskegee Army Air Field. Before joining Philip Morris, he directed a community center in Yonkers. He was ready when the big opportunity came.

There are far too many people who, being unprepared, could not avail themselves of an opportunity if it opened the door, came into the parlor and sat down. It is a tragedy to find grown men and wo-



men who still haven't made up their minds what they want to do in life.

* * *

Mr. Wright started out working a small area (Bronx, Brooklyn and Manhattan) for Philip Morris. Then he was promoted to supervising the college program, a job that took him to campuses the country over. Now he has been given even larger responsibilities because he has consistently made good.

Nor is Mr. Wright an isolated case. There are many young colored men and women today working for some of the largest corporations, often in positions of importance, because they had something to offer that these companies wanted.

Industry, finance and commerce are simply crying for alert, capable youths who are willing to start at the bottom and work steadily and loyally, with imagination and resourcefulness.

There was a time when colored salesmen and saleswomen were very scarce. There was a time when few firms hired Negro chemists, engineers, architects, metallurgists and other technicians. Those days have passed. This is not to say that color is no longer a barrier to employment and promotion, but it is much less so than ever before.

* * *

Once upon a time educated Negroes looked forward to careers in medicine, dentistry, teaching, social work, undertaking or religion, and rarely prepared for anything else. Few trained for careers in business and industry, the very backbone and foundation of our economy; and as a general rule they fled from agriculture as symbolic of slavery.

It is different today, but not much different, and therein lies much of the reason for the economic, social and political retardation of the group.

We have simply not been equal to our opportunities in the past and we are not today, although we are making progress in entering hitherto untrodden fields.

There are vast areas of economic enterprise which are closed to us, not so much because of color prejudice and discrimination, but because so few of us are ready to pioneer and compete. How else can one account for the rise of some people like Herbert Wright?

If a Negro is a superior salesman or a better technician, if he has something to offer American business, most enter-

prises will accept his services. The record is there for all to see.

American competition compels the employment of capable people regardless of color or religion. In many instances the Negro has been "last to be hired and first to be fired" because he had least to offer.

In addition to agitating for fair employment practice, we need to start agitating for fair employment preparation. We have far too many young men and women entering the labor market with no knowledge or skills to offer that business can use except on the levels where wages are lowest and tenure most uncertain.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Confession of Youth Proves Fallacy of Defense Rights

REMEMBER all of the incandescent hysteria generated by the Trenton Six case? Seized upon first by the Communist-controlled Civil Rights Congress which was later joined by the NAACP, this case was ballyhooed literally all over



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murder of an elderly white storekeeper were innocent and had been "framed" by rascally police. After five years of legal wrangling, four were acquitted of the crime, one died in jail and the sixth, Ralph Cooper, won a new trial. The forces of reaction had been worsted and justice, it was thought, had finally prevailed.

HOWEVER, THE unexpected has happened and all the professional saviors of suffering humanity are now in a dither.

Why? Because Brother Cooper, instead of claiming innocence as before, admitted he was guilty. Not only that, but he told the astonished judge and spectators that

the other five were definitely in the Trenton shop when the 72-year-old shopkeeper was beaten to death with a pop bottle on Jan. 27, 1948. Even the State Supreme Court last November upset the murder convictions against Cooper and Collis English. At first the lads had confessed the murder and then repudiated the confessions, their lawyers and the State Supreme Court contending these had been made after the men had been held four or five

days without counsel. Granted a new trial, it ended in a mistrial when one of the defendants got appendicitis. The four later acquitted will, of course, not be re-tried.

So now injustice is on the other foot and I'll bet dollars to doughnuts that if the defense organizations and more hysterical Negro newspapers say anything at all about this confession of the only eyewitness not free, they will denounce Cooper as a liar who was simply copping a plea. I never joined in the chorus of yelping about the "injustice" because I believed all along these fellows were guilty. Cooper now confirms it.

NEVER AM I unaware of the racism angle in cases of this kind but I am careful not to jump to the conclusion that every Negro arrested for a crime is innocent. There are plenty of vicious black criminals as there are white ones, and Negroes tend to confirm all the old Ku Klux propaganda against the Aframerican when they uncritically defend colored criminals.

It was the same, only worse, in the case of the Martinsville Seven who were guilty of as heinous a crime as has ever been committed. As I recall it, this was another Civil Rights Congress case. The entire seven admitted their guilt and were justly sent to their reward, but the accompanying ballyhoo was a wonder to hear. Efforts were made to inject the wholly extraneous propaganda that they should not be executed, guilty or not, because no Virginia white man had ever been executed for rape!

I did not join in this clamor because I felt about it as I did about the Trenton Six. Evidence rather than emotion should determine such cases.

* * *

THERE ARE so many cases of clear discrimination based on color alone that I entirely agree with the traditional policy of the NAACP that only these should elicit the attention of those interested in the protection of civil rights. The two cases cited, like that of the late and unlamented Willie Magee, had practically nothing to do with civil rights or color discrimination, and if the criminals involved had been white or Mexican, there would have been

none of the ballyhoo that rent the atmosphere. The Communists chose to "defend" them for sinister, self-serving reasons, just as they "defended" the Scottsboro boys. These Red rascals are eager for convictions which help "prove" that justice is dead everywhere except behind the Iron Curtain and that the American Negro is in a hopeless situation.

This is to be expected. It is the Communists' business to undermine, disrupt and destroy this civilization by any and every means. What is really depressing is the ease with which they can hornswoggle the American people time and time again. Despite our long experience with these birds, the next time some clearly guilty Negro criminal is nabbed, tried and sentenced for some heinous crime, the Reds will rush to his defense, flood the press with letters and petitions, stage conferences and mass meetings, denounce everybody from the President down to the corner cop, and work up considerable mass support. Thus, they collect fat sums for "defense," keep their apparatus fed and clothed and stage world-wide propaganda for the Revolution. Worse, it drains off money and attention from cases where there are real issues of color discrimination and actual violations of civil rights.

in as Vanderbilt University (in the same state) has done.

NEXT MONTH a state-wide mobilization of pro-FEPC organizations led by the NAACP will meet in Sacramento, Calif., to fight for passage of a state FEPC law. There is a good chance for such a law in California if the drive is well supported. The opposition against it is no more powerful than in other states which have passed such laws.

Matthew A. Henson, 86-year-old Arctic explorer (who dragged Commodore Robert E. Peary to the North Pole in 1909) was honored last week by the Explorers Club when a magnificent bronze head of the valiant Negro was presented to the organization. Old-timers remember Henson's successful nation-wide lecture tour following his return to civilization which thrilled so many Americans forty years ago.

NAACP's youth division has renewed its campaign to get Negro instructors placed on faculties of leading colleges and universities. Importantly, it accompanied its appeal to college presidents with a list of qualified Negro educators desiring such positions, something too often neglected in lists for job opportunities.

Color question may hold up Hawaiian and Alaskan statehood. Southern Democrats (whom Southern Negro voters helped return to Congress!) oppose the two prospective states (which have mixed populations) for fear their representatives in Washington would favor civil rights legislation. They know four new Senators and three new Representatives would upset the present balance of power in Congress. Southern Negro Democrats now see they were not just voting for Stevenson.

three years these nine million black people may again be free of both Britain and Egypt.

once broke the British square, was closer to freedom last week when British and Egypt agreed on a settlement of their dispute over the vast East African condominium (as large as the U. S. east of the Mississippi). In

The
WORLD
+ TODAY
By George S. Schuyler

University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., continues to live up to its name and bar Negro students. Eight instructors resigned last year because of this color bar, and now Dr. James A. Pike, dean of New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine, for the same reason has withdrawn as baccalaureate preacher and declined a D.D. degree from the university. Eventually that institution will give

THE SUDAN, whose "Mad" Mahdi's "savage" tribesmen

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

31a *new*
Some Folks Would Like to Have Billy's Job

SOME of our colored people are certainly peculiar. They scream for recognition and placement of Negroes on all levels in public and private enterprise, and yet promptly proceed to knock those who are appointed . . . if they didn't recommend or support them.

I am thinking now of the hard time given New York City's Seventh Deputy Police Commissioner William L. (Billy)

Rowe ever since he was named by Mayor Impelletteri in August, 1951.

Daily newspapers fulminated against the former Courier editor as "unknown," "unqualified," "inexperienced and a 'playboy,'" and many of Harlem's leaders, actual and self-appointed, (mostly those who had remained loyal to the regular Tammany outfit

and fought the independent Impelletteri) were denunciatory and disconsolate.

I later learned that the daily newspapers gained their "information" about Rowe from Harlem informants.

In connection with the current police brutality investigation, the N. Y. World-Telegram and Sun (Scripps-Howard) assigned Frederick Weltman, Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, to write on the subject.

He went out of his way to attack Rowe along the familiar lines, insinuating that the alleged brutalities were due to Rowe's failure to do his job.

I have since learned that Weltman's informants were three sorehead Harlem Negroes.

31a *new*
WHEN I protested to the World-Telegram against Weltman's axe job, Lee B. Wood, executive editor, protested that Rowe should have had some police experience to qualify for his post, and that "I am sure there is talent in Harlem with more police experience."

New York's last two police commissioners, and many before them, had no previous police experience. It is neither



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necessary nor desirable. Commissioner Rowe is amply qualified as a public relations man, and that is his job in New York's Police Department. There is no person in Harlem or elsewhere in the metropolis better qualified to do it, although this judgment may distress some of the lawyers and social workers who aspire to the job.

When I asked the Mayor last September how Rowe was doing, he wrote: "He has established a fine record of service and has proved of real value in solving many of the complex community problems to which he has been assigned."

* * *

WHAT HAS Rowe done since he was sworn in on City Hall Plaza on Aug. 23, 1951? Remember, no Negro had ever been in such a position since the first one entered the department in 1909, and none had risen higher than acting captain.

Rowe's first job was to make friends, to be accepted by the department, to get five of the eight top men on his side in order to accomplish anything. In short, like any Negro "first," he had to "educate" both superiors and subordinates.

They didn't know just what to do with him, fearing to relegate him to Negro affairs because of probable criticism. Everybody was walking on eggs. Rowe had to go about actually creating his job. At first he didn't even have an office.

From the outset he stood in well with Commissioner Monaghan, a fine liberal, who heads the 19,000-man force; and they had intimate talks which led to the acceptance of many of Rowe's ideas such as mixing up squad car crews, ending color discrimination and putting the "right" captains in the right precincts.

In his first year he helped more cops than anybody in the previous twenty, colored and white. He made himself always available without intermediary, and saved many cops' jobs.

* * *

PEOPLE CAME to see him about many things having nothing strictly to do with the department—welfare, housing, etc. He became popular as a speaker, addressing even more white than colored assemblages. These and many other activities have greatly lessened tension between the department and the public, and between colored and white.

The Police Commissioner says he "couldn't have picked a better man." Who

should know better?

One of his pet projects is a Teen-Age worth of homes for Negroes Clinic. Another is Police Week, to give people through newspapers, radio and television, a better understanding of the department.

Rowe feels that 75 per cent of the trouble between the police and the people comes from misunderstanding; that people should respect rather than fear the law; that since they always "call a cop" they should know more about him; that it is necessary to acquaint the public with police procedure and routine; that the police should be taught to use, not abuse, their authority.

* * *

COMMISSIONER ROWE has been instrumental in getting Negro police spread all over town as never before. There are colored sergeants, lieutenants and a captain in districts where they formerly were never seen.

More Negroes are on detective squads than ever, and more outside Negro districts.

He has done more than anyone previously to present the problems of Negroes to the police officers, has investigated many complaints of minority groups, and has assembled audio-visual material on discrimination for the instruction of police officials.

He inaugurated the policy of commissioners visiting the various precincts, and is now a familiar figure to all New York's policemen.

When Rowe took the job he decided that he was "not going to ask for any more or accept any less than other commissioners" and he is everywhere treated accordingly. On special occasions such as Election Day or an Alert, he is never assigned to Harlem but to some other district. He is invited to everything. Dapper and engaging, he has won the respect and good-will of police and public alike, and brought the two closer together.

What more do his Harlem knockers want? You guessed it—his job!

The

WORLD
Courier
TODAY
Pittsburgh, Pa.
By George S. Schuyler

31a *new*
Miami Negroes taking the spotlight with their non-profit Paravilla Heights As-

sociation to build \$10 million worth of homes for Negroes at cost. Booker T. Washington would have lauded such self-help. Let's stop relying on philanthropy!

* * *

BATON ROUGE brethren boycotting effectively the bus system whose white drivers revolted against ordinance that Negroes could occupy front seats when rear ones were filled. Colored folk with cars gave free rides to others, thus making boycott almost 100 per cent solid. Who said Southern Negroes were cowed and fearful? Who's "terrorized" now?

* * *

Raleigh's Catholic Bishop Vincent S. Waters killed off segregated congregations with a simple decree, and white opposition faded. Another victory for courage, manliness and principle. The masses are more ready to end this Jim-Crow nonsense than many "experts" imagine.

* * *

NAACP plans all-out attack on Jim-Crow railroad stations in Dixie. No Negroes and few whites oppose this. A determined drive on it will be victorious. However, it costs money. So what about YOUR membership?

* * *

Rep. Powell charges hotel and moving picture theatre bias still rules Washington, D. C. A bit of mass picketing should bring a showdown on that. What are "militant" Washington Negroes waiting for?

* * *

WALTER WHITE echoes this drivel with the charge that the "hysteria of fear" is gripping the U. S. and that "minorities" are becoming fearful of expressing themselves freely. What minorities? Doubtless the red and pink enemies of America, now hideously on the run! Certainly this "hysteria" has not stopped Walter from talking!

* * *

U. S. boondogglers in Europe who, singularly, were astonished and alarmed by the claque over the Rosenberg case, are now "relieved" because if they suddenly saw this was a Communist propaganda stunt from the first? And what difference does it make?

social
bankrupt, demoralized Europe thinks?

case, are now "relieved" because if they suddenly saw this was a Communist propaganda stunt from the first? And what difference does it make?

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

He Didn't Have to But W. W.

THE evening of Dec. 14, I wound my way to the East Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore in midtown Manhattan (along with about 300 other folks from New York and elsewhere) to attend a dinner-dance in honor of a national sales executive of a great corporation who had rounded out ten years' service. The occasion was an unusual one, to say the least.

The cost of the affair was around \$7,000, paid entirely by the corporation. The man being honored was a Negro, Joseph Makel, of Indianapolis, whom I first met back before World

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War II. The corporation was Calvert Distillers, and the gathering was quite interracial.

When Joe Makel joined Calvert in 1941, Negro salesmen in the liquor industry (which is so generously patronized by colored folk) were few and far between, and sales executives of "The Group" were nonexistent. W. W. Wachtel, Calvert's president, had confidence that Makel could do a good job, and that's exactly what he has done.

Conseil P.M.

Incidentally, in these days when it is assumed that fair employment practices must be enforced by politicians, it is illuminating to consider the example set by Calvert: that is to say, by W. W. Wachtel, a leader in the field. Since the corporation took the plunge with Joe Makel, it has hired fourteen Negro salesmen whose salaries

range from \$5,000 to \$12,000 annually, with generous expense accounts, and it has employed many Negroes in its office, warehouse, and production staff. W. W. Wachtel has over 200 wholesalers and he has encouraged many of them to follow his example. Their salesmen working on commissions have a guaranteed drawing account ranging from \$60 to \$75 a week. One very

unique Negro salesman for a Calvert distributor earns \$20,000 a year. One wonders how many Negro professors earn even half that much. And yet most Negro collegians are studying not to be salesmen, Wachtel Set Own FEP Pattern

but teachers! Indeed, one reason why the Negro group is not farther advanced is because such an overwhelming proportion of its educated people have avoided the fields of science, production and sales. Even if there were complete economic opportunity for all, how many of us now could take advantage of it?

* * *

Joe Makel is a born salesman who has grown better through the years. Beginning as a lowly seller with Calvert, he has won nine pay raises since 1941 and is now on the national sales executive staff, not as a result of favoritism, but because he has delivered (or rather sold) the goods.

Obviously this W. W. Wachtel is a unique capitalist, but he is by no means alone. There are dozens of others who have opened their doors to qualified, ambitious Negroes, and not because they were forced to do so.

Mr. Wachtel averages about thirty speeches a year before business groups promoting interracial understanding and urging fair employment practices. During 1952 alone he circulated over 200,000 booklets promoting these ideas. He has raised funds for the National Urban League and the United Negro College Fund. He heads a drive to give young Negro athletes a chance to compete in the Olympics. He was the power behind the Lord Calvert Hotel project in Miami, and for his many efforts

toward better interracial relations, he won the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute Award.

He didn't have to do it, he wasn't forced to do it, his primary concern was not profits, but principle. Indeed, by pioneering in the employment of Negroes in white collar jobs, he ran the risk of losing money.

He has shown the way to many other large corporations by demonstrating that given an opportunity, qualified Negroes will measure up to the best in the field.

True, the millennium has not been reached by his contributions to fair em-

ployment practices, but his missionary work has certainly borne fruit. It is mer like him, wielding great power in the business world, who will do more to narrow the gap between colored and white in our society than any other instrumentality. But in order to justify their confidence we have to have more competent and resourceful people like Joe Makel.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

There's Nothing Wrong With Pat McCarran's Act

THE HYPOCRISY of the opponents of nists, Nazis, Fascists and their assorted the McCarran-Walter immigration con-fellow travelers within our borders without trol law which went into effect in late December is truly tremendous.

If, as is argued, these people are so As was to be expected, there has been socially useful, then they should stay in a loud yawn because the new law (the best Europe which is in dire need of rehabili- and most liberal this nation—or any other tation.

—has had) is concerned primarily with the A great claque has gone up from the welfare and securi-so-called intellectuals because sundry property of the United fessors, writers and politicians have been States and not excluded because some years ago they with the rescue of joined Communist or Communist-front or-assorted refugees. ganizations, and now, having suddenly seen In pursuance of the light of reason, want to rush into the that goal the law United States without careful examination requires the careful tion.

examination of all Some opponents of the new law would persons entering have us believe that it will lose us friends the United States and lower our prestige in the world if we for any purpose don't uncritically lower the bars. Now the whether for tem-fact is that the only thing that lowers the porary or perma-prestige of any nation is weakness.

The prestige of the Soviet Union is high Of course this because it is a powerful government, re-is a great incon-gardless of the fact that it has murdered venience to the sev-scores of millions of its hapless victims eral thousand per- and enslaved hundreds of millions of peo-sons who apply for ple. The same is true of Red China. India entrance every day, with sixty million outcasts is highly es-

but surely it is better for them to be esteemed. * * *

inconvenienced than it is for the nation to be imperiled. Entering any country is ONE OF the biggest wails against the not an inherent right but a political priv- McCarran-Walter Act is that it discrimin- ilege, and I've entered enough foreign countries to know how strict are the laws against Eastern and Southern Eu-opeans in favor of Western Europeans, and permits only a token number of Orientals and Africans to permanently enter.

The reason, of course, is that Congress does not want to increase our cultural and social headaches. Culturally, this is a Western European (specifically an Anglo-Saxon) nation regardless of its racial com-position, and in the past much of our social hold beliefs detrimental to the nation. We difficulties have stemmed from indigestible elements in the population.



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Contrary to the ideal, this nation is not actually a melting pot but a polyglot stew with the morsels staying pretty much separate. We may not like it but that's a fact.

Perhaps it shouldn't be, but that's life; and every nation recognizes that fact of life in its immigration policy. People of divergent cultures simply do not mix well when living together.

Courier
Det. 1-10-53

THE HYPOCRISY of the opponents of the new law is glaringly revealed in their insistence on Eastern and Southern Europeans being given the same quota as British, Dutch, French, Irish and Scandinavians; but while stressing the basis of need, they are silent about the Arabians, Chinese, Indians, Indonesians and Japanese whose needs are ten times greater.

There are nearly 900,000 Arabs who were chased out of Israel by the Zionists and now rest on the desert sands, but despite their dire need none of these McCarran Act opponents even suggests that these Arabs be given preference over others.

India and Japan are more cursed by over-population than any Eastern or Southern European country ever was, and the economic plight of these people is infinitely worse, but no one can recall anybody urging that hundreds of thousands of these hapless folk be brought to this country because they are the neediest people on earth.

It is not a matter of race but of culture. Do Negroes and Mexicans in the Southwest customarily fraternize and intermarry? How close is the association between Puerto Ricans and U. S. Negroes in New York?

The East Indians and Negroes in Trinidad and British Guiana have lived in juxtaposition for a century but do not fraternize and almost never intermarry. Is there much fraternity between the Negroes in California and the people of Japanese and Chinese derivation?

How frequently do Italians and Irish march to the altar? The Japanese and German colonies in Brazil remain intact and virtually unabsorbed. Negroes and whites here, in Brazil and throughout the Caribbean while of similar culture rarely intermarry.

Personally, I should prefer it to be otherwise but I have to face the facts of life, and so do all governments in considering their immigration policies.

I do not think the law here should be changed just in order to satisfy a few selfish cliques in the U. S. who have somebody in Europe they want to rescue. If the law is to be changed, it should favor (a) the West Indians, (b) the Mexicans and (c) the South Americans, while excluding all totalitarian-minded people of whatever race or color.

By George S. Schuyler

31a Negro

fright.

* * *

So I cannot say that I shall view the coming exposures with distaste nor shed aught but crocodile tears over the plight of those caught in the toils.

Even before the Roosevelt Disaster I disclosed in this very column the Red background of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, the Scottsboro "defense" hustle, the profitable Herndon "defense," the Black-and-White film fiasco, the various Spanish "Loyalist" skullduggeries, and all the other Kremlin programs carried on here by the International Labor Defense, but the boys and girls paid no attention.

So when the axe falls and their screams make the welkin ring, I shall just rear back and hum "I'm Sorry Dear."

Nothing is more pleasant to observe than a witch hunt when there are so many witches and wizards around to be scotched.

WHAT WITH three Congressional committees scheduled to swing into action shortly on the subversive front, we go unscathed because they, too, had Lecturers and wailing from some of our "intellectuals" and "leaders" who chose their Red associations not wisely but too well.

According to plans, there is going to be a long, cold look that, (a) they belonged to these fronts at our physicians, long time ago, (b) that their adherence to lawyers, clergy was excusable because they were young men and professors, and unsophisticated, and (c) that they were innocent (ignorant) and did not know that these Red agencies were Red. * * *

Where the boys and girls are clearly be caught with the goods, their alibi will be a long, cold look that, (a) they belonged to these fronts at our physicians, long time ago, (b) that their adherence to lawyers, clergy was excusable because they were young men and professors, and unsophisticated, and (c) that they were innocent (ignorant) and did not know that these Red agencies were Red. * * *

Such excuses coming from unlettered folk might be acceptable, but these lads and lassies have had the best obtainable school of "our people" in most instances, are widely traveled and regularly read books, newspapers and periodicals.

It will be an interracial revelation, with several lassies have had the best obtainable school of "our people" in most instances, are widely traveled and regularly read books, newspapers and periodicals.

The simple truth is that many of them thought the Red totalitarians were going to win out here, and they wanted to be in on the ground floor. They were flattered to be rubbing shoulders with prominent white citizens who were unwittingly playing the Red game at the time, and took avidly to the intimacies that were part of the sordid business.

Courier P.6

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has been limelighting the Red network for some fifteen years or so, but its exposures were jeered by these very individuals now in the clutch.

They rushed into the Red-sponsored National Negro Congress, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, etc., etc., although there was nothing such outfits promised to do that the NAACP was not doing.

When they belonged to the NAACP, they used their influence to further adoption of Moscow tactics, to plot Soviet courses, and to confuse the minds of other Negroes. Many are still doing it, if in a more underhanded way.

Their Pinkish white friends in high places have looked out for them in various ways helpful to careers and pocketbooks, so they've been reluctant to quit, confess and recant. Now they will have to take the rap. If they had listened to me through the years they would now have no cause to moan and shake with

The number of Negro professors and teachers who have flirted with Moscow is surprisingly large, and "The Man" has all



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Views and Reviews

Tuskegee Should Become a Technical College on a Par With the Best

THE trustees of Tuskegee Institute will have the task in June of selecting a new president to replace the capable Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, who replaces Dr. Channing Tobias at the Phelps-Stokes Fund. In addition to that difficult task, I think they should consider the question of whether Tuskegee should not become a different kind of school than it has been in recent years. Their answer will determine what kind of president they should select because whoever they choose will head the institution for many years. What the curricula should be ought, in my opinion, be determined by the changing character of American civilization and the problems and opportunities Negroes will face.



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houses and barns, how to improve health and diet, how to know something about the world beyond them and the necessity for cooperation and thrift—these were the immediate needs. Tuskegee Institute not only did that job but inspired others to do likewise. Its example was copied all over the world.

THE SOUTH had changed and is changing. Industry and manufacture have greatly increased in importance in that section. The rural population has declined and the urban population grown. The typical Southerner, black and white, is a town and city dweller. The one-crop system is almost a thing of the past and diversification is the order of the day.

The demand for mechanically skilled labor is ever growing, and engineers, chemists and other technical professions, has increased. There has been marked migration not only from country to city but from the South to the North, East and West where industrialization is even more advanced than in Dixie.

Obviously, preparation for a new kind of existence is needed, especially by Negroes, if they are to keep pace with the economic demands of the time. Preparation for merely teaching school, doing hand tailoring, laying brick, shoeing mules, fashioning clothing out of flour sacks, and learning other handicrafts is clearly not enough.

* * *

WHAT IS needed now is not a primitive trade school but a polytechnic institute, a technical college on a par with the best such as Stevens Institute, the Rensselaer Polytechnic and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an institution which will prepare young Negroes for the Atomic Age. There are a sufficient number of liberal arts colleges to supply the other needs.

Carrie

What is needed is an institution concerned primarily with enabling young Negroes to avail themselves of the new opportunities being offered to them by the virtue of the rapidly changing point of view as to their place in the economic scheme of things. While we contend for fair employment practices, we have to be

able to function where and when they are granted or won. What more appropriate place to do this than Tuskegee Institute?

If the trustees can be persuaded to make Tuskegee that kind of school exclusively, there are quite a few men capable of heading up the job on the basis of what they have accomplished. I am thinking of a man like S. J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Memorial Foundation, the man responsible for restoring the Booker T. Washington Birthplace in Virginia, the coining and distribution of the B. T. Washington memorial half-dollar and more recently the Washington-Carver half-dollar. These accomplishments alone would not necessarily qualify him to head a technical school, but the successful operation of his fine industrial school in Roanoke, Va., recognized by the U. S. Government and the State of Virginia, certainly does. It has turned out hundreds of skilled workers capable of holding their own in modern industry.

* * *

S. J. PHILLIPS is one of the few men I know who possesses the kind of vision needed to prepare young Negroes to measure up to the exacting requirements of the new industrial age. As a Tuskegee alumnus and a believer in the tradition of that institution, he understands that in a civilization like this one cannot survive without the necessary technical qualifications. American industry and commerce are crying for skilled workers and technicians, and they are in short supply. The time for us to take advantage of this situation is NOW. We just need the vision and the will to do it.

The Negro population of the South was predominantly rural and largely ignorant of the fundamentals of prospering in that area. Ruined by a disastrous war brought upon itself, the South needed rebuilding, peace and prosperity, so that a higher standard of living might be enjoyed by its inhabitants, black and white, who were equally ignorant and burdened by the front porch philosophy and racial antagonism stemming from the vicious system of chattel slavery.

How to live off the land, how to build

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

New York State Leads Nations in Civil Rights

NEW YORK is known as the Empire State, and this is certainly so where Negroes are concerned. Last week the American Jewish Congress's Commission on Law and Social Action pointed out that New York State, with thirty-four laws against racial and religious discrimination, leads the nation in this respect. Every possible phase of color bias is outlawed except discrimination in privately owned housing.

The state has long been a leader in progressive social measures beneficial to the masses. It was one of the first to emancipate its slaves, and by gradual manumission all were freed by 1827. That year the first Negro newspaper was founded by Rev. Samuel Cornish, a Virginia-born Presbyterian minister, who appointed John H. Russwurm, first U. S. Negro college graduate, as editor.

It has had Negroes resident for over 300 years and has produced a large number of distinguished colored men and women. It's Negroes had the first free school in the U. S., the first Negro repertory theatre producing Shakespearean drama, the first Negro literary magazine, The Anglo-African, and it gave birth to the Urban League, the Niagara Movement and the NAACP. It was the headquarters for colonization and

emancipation societies. It played an important part in the underground railroad. Here Marcus Garvey's Universal Improvement Association was born, and also the first Negro Communist front, the African Blood Brotherhood. It boasted the first U. S. Negro physician.

ITS DARK POPULATION has grown from 25,978 in 1790 to 70,092 in 1890, 134,191 in 1910 and 918,342 in 1950. Today there are over 700,000 Negroes in New York

City and well over 1,000,000 within a radius of sixty miles from Times Square. Whereas in 1790 Negroes constituted 7.6 per cent of the state's population, they are now about 6 per cent. The striking and disappointing thing is, however, that Negro migrants have flock only to New York City, almost ig-

noring the rest of the state. Outside of the metropolis one can journey from Yonkers to the Canadian border and from Albany to Buffalo without seeing many of the colored brethren, save a very few thousand in such centers as Buffalo, Rochester, Niagara Falls, Syracuse, Utica, Schenectady, Elmira, Albany, Poughkeepsie, Yonkers, White Plains, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle and Binghamton.

In view of the problem of housing (which is acute for both black and white) it is unfortunate that more migrants do not scatter over the state. There are thirty-nine cities with over 20,000 population and fifty-one with 10,000 to 20,000. About the least desirable place for living is New York City.

Everywhere there are good schools, good libraries, fine parks, museums, art galleries, all of the best public facilities, and the aforementioned thirty-four civil rights laws (including FEPC) are operative. It is a state of great natural beauty with scores of state parks and beaches for recreation and vacationing. But our migrants all flock to New York!

IN WOULD BE much better for them if they did not. There will never be enough income level of most migrants. This means congestion which has long been chronic and will so remain. Rent restrictions lower the maintenance of these old multiple dwellings, and building an adequate number of new ones is economically impossible. All honest and the authorities admit this. Already the tax burden is almost unbearable. In fact the city is virtually bankrupt.

Most Negro migrants come from small towns and cities, and they would find life much more pleasant and profitable if they moved to places of similar size in New York State. Except in the very largest cities, they could far more successfully get adequate detached housing, and there is extremely little unemployment anywhere. If

migrants are farmers, they can find an ideal agricultural situation, mostly dairy and fruit farming, and some very nice white people to work for and with. Generally speaking there is no race problem at all in and around these communities, and colored newcomers are accepted for what they are. Of course, white people will be found who are prejudiced against Negroes (where won't you find them, here or abroad?) but discrimination

based on color is practically nil. Many years ago Negroes were barred from working in some factories in upstate New York, but today that is almost past.

I conclude that most Negroes planning to move to New York State simply do not know the advantages of settling outside jam-packed New York City. Perhaps these few observations may incline some of them to seek the more wide open and beautiful spaces of the Empire State. They will find that they never had it so good.

was President Alonzo C. Moron of Hampton. Some colored Republican will replace him any day now.

SINGULAR news came from Africa last week that two Northern Rhodesian copper mining companies have asked all-white unions to consider admitting Negroes so they could advance them to positions of greater responsibility because if this were not done, the situation "sooner or later (will) inevitably enter into an open clash of interests on racial lines." Here are some much-maligned capitalists who are far more sensible than the white unions.

The
WORLD
TODAY
31a
By George S. Schuyler

Seven years is the limit Columbia University has set for all campus fraternities to end the color bar in membership. After Oct. 1, 1960, it will no longer recognize those which have failed to make the change. Slowly the tide is turning against all forms of Jim Crow and ostracism.

Austin, Tex., chalked up a "first" last week when a Negro juror was accepted to serve on a jury which was trying a Negro for killing a white man. There is a whole lot more behind that than appears on the surface. It is a long step along the road America must tread.

TWO PARTIES have just been formed by whites in South Africa to fight Malianism. This is a crack in the hitherto solid wall of white supremacy in that country. The platforms of both parties could well have been drawn by Walter White. This is the most significant development in the sub-continent in a generation.

Three members of the Caribbean Commission resigned last week (probably by invitation of President Eisenhower) and only one new member was appointed. One of the resigned members



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By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

31a (narrative)
Washington on Verge of Becoming Example to Rest of the World

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court has finally decided that legally Negroes as such cannot be refused service in the restaurants and cafes of Washington, D. C. Great credit is due the NAACP legal staff who prepared the case, the NAACP itself which kept up the propaganda fight, and the Courier which carried on a long campaign against Jim Crow in Washington. It is a great victory. Following closely upon the theatre victory in the District, the greatest world capital seems on the verge of becoming an example to the rest of the world. It has always been paradoxical that the headquarters of the free world should not itself be free.



Mr. Schuyler

* * *

THERE IS much that Washington Negroes themselves (constituting one-third of the capital's population) could have done to speed this emergence from Jim Crowism if they had possessed the will and determination to do it. Unfortunately they relied upon propaganda and legalism instead of sound business practices and the law of competition, just like Negroes elsewhere have done.

Like most large Negro communities, Washington has been enjoying a long period of prosperity during which the people have increased ownership of homes and churches, and accumulated vast savings deposits in the District's banks. They boast a high standard of education.

Under the circumstances why is it that no Negro group in the capital got together, formed a corporation and established a first-class restaurant right in the midst of the others, catering to all well-mannered folk regardless of color?

* * * P.M.

A REALLY fine restaurant of this kind with an interracial staff of workers serv-

ing all comers with courteous dispatch would have been patronized by large numbers of people of all groups with the money to spend. It would have offered severe competition to the existing restaurants and thereby inevitably influenced the latter to change their exclusionist policies. Once such a restaurant proved successful, another and another could have been set up in various parts of the city. By meeting and beating competition, these Negro-controlled restaurants could have set an example to the whole District and to the entire country.

Could such a venture have been financed and competently run? Certainly. The money was there and only needed a determined campaign to mobilize it for this purpose. The necessary land or property could have been purchased or perhaps rented. It has been demonstrated that there are wise enough lawyers and realtors among Washington Negroes to have handled the problems involved. The main obstacle was the distressing lack of economic enterprise in the colored community.

* * *

WHAT COULD have been true in the case of restaurants, could also have been true in the case of theatres and auditoriums. If Washington's leaders had been capable of luring a few hundred thousands of the tens of millions Negroes there have on deposit in the District's banks, they could easily have secured a theatre which had remained dark and deserted for years. Such a corporation would have had the full cooperation of the New York producers who would have sent down the finest plays. Washingtonians of all colors and creeds would have patronized that theatre and not worried about being seated next to well-dressed Negroes from orchestra to balcony. It would have been no difficulty at all to secure a competent white manager if not colored one could have been secured.

Det. 6-20-53
I understand there is a dearth of auditoriums in Washington but local Negroes acted as if Constitution Hall was the only one there could be had. They could have built and maintained one, bringing in the finest attractions and catering to all sorts of conventions and fairs. Faced with such competition (drawing from white AND

colored patrons), the Daughters of the American Revolution would have dropped their racial exclusionist policies at Constitution Hall long before they did, or it would have become a white elephant.

* * *

SO-CALLED intellectuals who snicker at the Father Divines and Daddy Graces could learn a lot from them. Father Divine found no difficulty in negotiating purchases of prominent urban hotels to operate as he chose.

Daddy Grace recently negotiated purchase of the swank Eldorado Towers off Central Park in New York City. No Negro had ever lived in that palatial privately owned apartment house, and it looked as if none ever would.

Both the Divine and Grace movements are militantly interracial, and their policies follow their purchases. Others on a smaller scale have done likewise.

With a boasted fifteen billion dollars to spend annually, why must Negroes rely solely upon ballyhoo and legal devices to break down the barriers around them?

We can win all the wonderful legal decisions enforcing equal opportunity, access and treatment, but until we learn to put our money where our mouths are, we shall fall far short of our goal.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

The Question of Burning

THE CRIME of so many of the snobbishly self-styled intellectuals has not been alone the avid gullibility with which they have snapped at every propaganda line cast by the Red world conspirators but the great industry with which they have sought to confuse every public effort to protect the nation upon whose bounty they feed.

I refer specifically to the campaign of this element to confuse the Government's program of cleansing the State Department's information libraries in foreign countries of books by Communists and fellow-travelers which project the Kremlin line. The real issue is: should the American taxpayers pay for the support of writers and books of this sort when we are engaged in a cold war which the Russians' masters launched thirty years ago?

If these writers and their books were pro-Nazi and condemned or disparaged our republican, free enterprise in favor of National Socialism and Fascism, there would be a tremendous uproar against them by the very people who now denounce the present policy.

The United States libraries abroad are American weapons in the propaganda war and should be so construed and operated. They are entirely different from public libraries at home. If anybody abroad wants to read the books of left-wing American writers, then let them buy those books.

RECENTLY ONE of President Eisenhower's ghost writers in the White House slipped into his Dartmouth speech a denunciation of "book burning" as if anybody had proposed or carried out such a policy. This was designed apparently to make it appear that United States policies were on all fours with those of Hitler's



Mr. Schuyler

(or Not Burning) Books!

Gestapo and Brown Shirts. The statement gave aid and comfort to the propaganda enemies of America, and was promptly headlined as a rebuke of Senator McCarthy by his party leaders.

To his eternal credit, President Eisenhower in his next press conference promptly disavowed the inference and threw the allegation back into the teeth of the Wisconsin Senator's considerable army of traducers. Needless to say, the left-wing and "liberal" press failed to give the same prominence to the President's denial as they did to his ghost writer's statement. This always happens when a propaganda pitch boomerangs.

* * *

NOW I have never been one of those to decry ALL book burning. It is generally agreed by reasonable people that there are some books which should be burned. Much of the trash sold between covers should be so treated, and has been in the past. Filthy sex books from abroad are normally confiscated by U. S. Customs authorities and destroyed. Similar books produced in this country are customarily grabbed by the gendarmerie and consigned to a bonfire or the court house furnace. There have been periodic drives to sweep murderous "comic" books off the newsstands in order to protect the young. The only people who complain against these actions are the publishers of this stuff. Good people applaud.

Similarly, local and Federal officials confiscate and destroy filthy motion picture films produced for showings in bordellos, buffet flats and private clubs. I have heard no public objection to this policy.

Numerous publishers of so-called art magazines are periodically arrested, tried and convicted for printing and circulating this offensive "literature" but no opposing outcry comes from the "intellectuals," no matter how avidly they may peruse it in private.

* * *

WOULD ANY Senegambian in this country be opposed to the burning of the vicious "novels" of Thomas Dixon and his ilk which shaped the Ku Klux mind for generations to our grave disadvantage? There are books in every library kept under lock and key and permitted to be read only by scholars and other maturer persons. Should they be made available to impres-

sionable youth? *Part 6-27-53*
Negroes have quite properly warred against school textbooks which hold them up to ridicule and contempt. They have campaigned to have them removed from classrooms, and they have been right. Now what happens to several thousand such books removed from the schools. Are they kept in the warehouse, or are they destroyed? Do we care whether they are burned or sent to the pulp mill to be converted into something useful like wall-board? What would happen to an outrageously anti-Jewish or anti-Catholic textbook that was slipped into the public schools? I know what HAS happened in the past and what WOULD happen today.

If the taxpayers revolt against having their money used to spread racial, religious and nationalistic bias at home, why should they not object to paying for books to be distributed widespread abroad which ridicule, scorn and disparage this civilization which is feeding and clothing half the world? And when such books are removed from information libraries, what should be done with them? And what should be done with those who bought and distributed them with Federal money?

The question is not answered by crying "witch hunt," "threat to cultural freedom," etc. How many anti-Communist U. S. books are bought and circulated by the Soviet Union? And what would happen to the Red officials responsible for doing so?

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Nobody Would Have to Twist His Arm for 'Those Names'

WELL, WELL! Ain't we got Funn—Mrs. Dorothy K., that is! Last week this little colored Brooklyn school teacher, who testified to once having been deep in the heart of Moscow's machinations in America, gave the House Committee on Un-American Activities a long list of Communist subversives.

Too many professors and writers have been insulting our intelligence by crying "Witch Hunt," "threat to academic freedom," etc., etc., because Congress has been trying to find out what has been going on to undermine and weaken our country and to map legislation to stop it.

Mrs. Funn deserves great credit for telling what went on behind the fronts, many of which professed to be out to save the Negro while working like Trojans to spread racial ill-will.

I wish a lot of other "educated" Negroes who were prominent in the Communist conspiracy (and some still are) would confess as volubly and name names.

ALL THIS is old stuff to me. Back in the late 'Twenties and early 'Thirties when these fellow-travelers and anti-anti-Communists say they joined the party or were easily duped because they were "confused" and were led astray while fighting for "human rights."

I was practically alone in fighting communism and everything Communists stand for.

I have in my possession a letter five feet long sent from Moscow in 1935 and signed by every U. S. party member there studying at the Lenin University of subversion denouncing me because I scoffed at the "wonderful" new Soviet constitution.



Mr. Schuyler

I have another letter of considerable length which a lot of Harlem "intellectuals" sent to Robert L. Vann demanding my discharge because I exposed the phony Angelo Herndon case. *516-55*

It would cause a mild sensation if I were to publish those names today. No one would have to twist my arm to persuade me to do it, either.

* * *

BACK IN 1923, in The Messenger, I was throwing the spotlight on the first Negro Communist front, the African Blood Brotherhood, one of whose founders went to Russia the year before and returned a Comintern agent.

As each successive Red front arose to exploit the Negro problem for Kremlin ends I did my best to expose it.

I pointed out that the Bolsheviks were the first to recognize Mussolini's dictatorship; was practically alone in exposing Comintern efforts to stir colonial strife and get Africans massacred; was first to expose Red machinations in the Scottsboro case, and in the Camp Hill, Ala., massacre.

In the "Separate State Hokum" (The Crisis, May, 1935), I exposed the Communist "Self-Determination for the Black Belt" propaganda as Red Ku-Kluxism.

While the Reds were busily dishing out doleful propaganda about the terrible future of the colored brethren, I prophesied in "A Negro Looks Ahead" (American Mercury, 1936) most of the progress that has since been made in race relations, and the following year (Jewish Frontier, October, 1937) wrote, "The Case for Integration."

When some of my "friends" who have been loudly wondering "what's happened to Schuyler," were deep in the conspiracy to woo Negroes to the Kremlin line, I wrote "Negroes Reject Communism" (American Mercury, June, 1939) and "Have Communists Quit Fighting for Negro Rights?" (Negro Digest, December, 1944).

* * *

IT IS A MATTER of record that I prophesied the Hitler-Stalin pact of late August, 1939 (which led to World War II), nearly five months before it was signed!

Previously, I was the first Negro journalist to expose the sale of oil by Soviet

Russia to Italy (via Greek tankers) which made possible Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia.

Naturally, when Russia launched its all-out attack upon the U. S. A. as soon as World War II was over (and the Reds were controlling or dominating swarms of Negro professors, social workers, upholders, labor leaders, etc.).

I stepped up the counter-attack, often naming names. Remember? So then the reprisals started and the anti-Schuyler propaganda gained speed. I suddenly was scored as a "reactionary," an "agent of Wall Street masters" and a "tool of big business" who actually hated Negroes!

It was easy to discern whence this attack came. It reached its height when I wrote about the progress of the Negro in "What's Good About the South?" and "The Phantom American Negro."

The opinions I expressed then are accepted now, with practically everybody admitting facts for which I was denounced four or five years ago.

I recall with a laugh the uproar following my expose of Red Josephine Baker, and how quickly it died down when everybody learned a short time later what I already knew . . . Well, the anti-Communist bandwagon is getting so awfully crowded now with such dubious company that I'm feeling sort of uncomfortable.

Still, I welcome new passengers like Mrs. Funn who belatedly join the fight against the greatest menace ever confronting civilization.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

The Answer Is Planned Parenthood — Restriction of Child Birth

31A
THERE has been more hogwash written attacking the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law than there has been against the nation-saving Smith Act. The basic opposition to the law (which is far more liberal than any previous one) is that (a) it discriminates in favor of Western Europeans as against Eastern and Southern Europeans, (b) it discriminates against the darker races: i. e., Orientals, Arabs and whatnot, and (3) it too severely screens persons entering our country in an effort to keep out Communists.



Mr. Schuyler

Its opponents want it further "liberalized" so that, as in the past few years, a swarm of Communists and fellow-travelers no longer welcome in their native lands, can escape to the U. S. A., where most of them will help further corrupt and subvert this land. President Eisenhower (with an eye on the Catholic, alien and Jewish vote) has urged that 240,000 more persons yearly be admitted. This would bring the number entering to more than a half million yearly, and already our population tops 159 million.

Continued on p. 7

THE McCARRAN-WALTER Immigration Law discriminates against Eastern and Southern Europeans in favor of Western Europeans, and I think wisely. More important than nationality, race or color, is culture. Despite his critics, Kipling was not so far wrong when he wrote, "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." He was saying that the cultural barrier transcends everything else. Since Western European culture is dominant here, for the sake of homogeneity it should be preserved.

Thus the law is also sound in sharply restricting the immigration of Orientals. Nor does this make the U. S. A. unique. It is harder for a camel to dive through further jam the insane asylums and the eye of a needle than it is for a black

person to emigrate to such cafe au lait countries as Brazil, Venezuela or Colombia where one would think they would be welcome. Australia and Canada, New Zealand and Argentina are very choosy about what kind of people they let in. None

Puerto Rico which had less than a million people in 1899 and now has 2,285,000 emigrate to New York City where they land and Argentina are very choosy about what kind of people they let in. None

China is as badly off as India, even wants black people or Orientals, while though the Communists have murdered Liberia wants no white citizens, and Haiti 15,000,000 people since 1949. The Chinese Reds even agreed with Soviet Russia that China's population had to be reduced by 100 million, but didn't say how (I was the only U. S. commentator to give readers a summary of the text of that treaty).

* * *

NEGROES IN British Guiana and Trinidad will tell you privately that the immigration of large numbers of East Indians into those two colonies menaced the black natives because of the lower economic and educational standards of the Orientals, and their religious and cultural differences which made for extreme clannishness. This is fact, not opinion.

The United States does not need any more people, and in fact could do better with less. It certainly needs no more white people, and an inrush of Africans and Orientals would imperil the standard of living of all, especially the fifteen million Negroes, because all of these people live on an unbelievably lower level than we do. This is fact, not opinion.

Population Bulletin for April, 1953 (1507 "M" Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.—\$1) which views these matters realistically says: "In terms of the world population statistics, the present rate of increase puts the United States among the more rapidly expanding areas of the world . . . Our present rate of natural increase, which is about 1.4 per cent a year, will, if continued, double the population by about 2,000."

This being the case, why should we bring in a half-million people each year?

* * *

AFRICA, CONSIDERING its size, is not over-populated because the allegedly benighted black folk have been practicing planned parenthood for ages. Every wife there knows dozens of abortifacients and the long period of nursing children (varying eighteen months to three years) minus the modern method of trying to save every sickly, crippled and unwanted baby, to

ridden public - 3-23-53
India is carrying on a full-scale planned parenthood program because wise leaders recognize that the population must be reduced or chaos will ensue. Japan with eighty-six million people in a space smaller than California is preparing drastic steps to cut its population.

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* * *

WHEREVER POPULATION outruns the food supply and available living facilities, the standard plummet, the people become stunted and anemic, and diseases of all sorts become endemic. Each person in the Old World has one-third the space of each one in the New World.

A swarm of newcomers can only lower standards here without having any effect whatever on population rates in the native lands. Millions of Italians, British, Irish and Germans have emigrated to the USA in the past century but those countries are more overcrowded than ever!

Obviously, the answer is planned parenthood—restriction of childbirth, but here the religious fanatics enter screaming against interfering with Nature—as if man had not been doing just that for milleniums in order to attain civilization!

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

How Africans Feel About the Question of Self-Government

GOOD OLD LIBERAL and tolerant French! I got a sidelight on the operations of our Gallic brethren the other day when I had the privilege of chatting again with my friend Sylvanus Olympio of Lome, Togoland, who recently returned to this country with another delegation pleading at the United Nations for unification of and self-government for his country, now divided as Trust territories between the French and the British.

In case your geography is rusty, Togoland is a pre-World War I German colony lying between the Gold Coast and Dahomey, the latter being next to Nigeria. It is an area about 34,000 square miles, a little smaller than Indiana, and a little larger than Hungary, with a population of 1,100,000, mostly the very enlightened Ewe people.

About seventy years ago the Germans moved in with their usual ruthlessness and thoroughness. However, unlike the other European powers, Germany built railroads, a network of highways, established primary and high schools similar to those in the Reich, and sent the brightest youths to the best universities in Germany. Thus, before World War I, Togoland was the most modernized colony with the most educated people in West Africa.

AFTER THE GERMAN defeat and the inauguration of the League of Nations hustle, Togoland was divided as mandates between Britain and France with the latter getting two-thirds of the territory, which she administered with Dahomey. When the League was succeeded after World War II by the still-



SCHUYLER

United Nations, the mandates were changed to trusts, just another name for the same thing.

The Ewe and other peoples of Togoland don't like it and don't want it, and they're trying to do something about it. For administrative purposes the British section of Togoland is annexed to the Gold Coast, and Nkrumah's Government is said to be no more eager to lose its section than are the French, albeit Nkrumah is the champion of black nationalism!

* * *

SO-O-O, LET'S go back to Sylvanus Olympio who, along with Dr. R. A. G. Armattoe and two others returned to the U.N.O. to argue their case. For many years Olympio was district manager in Togoland for Lever Brothers, a branch of the United Africa Company which controls vast business in palm oil and other products in West Africa. After he had appeared here the first time, the French used pressure against the company to have Olympio moved out of Togoland.

Frank Samuels, the managing director of Lever Brothers, asked him to come to London for consultation (he is now chairman of the board). He complained that the French had complained of Olympio's political activities and charged that the company had financed him. Since the company's interests in French Togoland were imperiled (they said), it was suggested very forcibly that Olympio go to Paris as its representative. Olympio agreed, taking the directorship of the company's subsidiary in the Ivory Coast (also French).

* * *

THEN CAME the meeting of the U.N. General Assembly in Paris in 1951. Olympio went to the meeting and met many of the representatives whom he knew, although making no formal appearance. However, the French objected to his presence, charging again that he was engaged in political activities. Samuels wired Olympio that the company was again in trouble, and later flew there to confer about it.

The French demanded that the Negro executive be transferred to London. Samuels stressed that they did not want Olympio to leave the company's employ, but they were under great French pressure. They asked him to work anywhere except in Paris. Indignant over these developments, Olympio saw no alternative except to quit. He chose to serve his people rather than maintain a good job.

It was a magnificent sacrifice for a man who had spent the better part of his life in a well-paid job with a great corporation. But it was clear to him that he could not serve the Togolanders and at the same time knuckle down to their rulers. It is indicative of how seriously educated Africans feel about this question of self-government.

Report From Europe

31a Negro
By Ollie Stewart

MEETS RICHARD WRIGHT IN LONDON

LONDON — W. A. Kirk, who teaches at Nutson College, Austin, Texas, and who has a Fulbright grant (study and lecture) in sociology at the University of London last year, covered the Coronation for the Informer chain of news-papers of Houston, Texas. His work is just about two years.

Richard Wright was in London but saw the procession and all the rest from a comfortable seat in a movie theater via television. Wright, incidentally, has developed a technique that involves frequent trips across the Channel. He told me:

"I do most of my writing in London these days. I come over here, get a fairly cheap room on the outskirts of town and work day and night without interruption. I can't do this in Paris. Too many people look me up when they come to town. And when that isn't happening, I find that I spend too much time setting at sidewalk cafes."

New Book Published
Wright's new book, "Outsider," was published a few months ago.

A London writer, George Padmore, whose sixth book (on the turmoil in Nigeria) was recently brought out in London, was another person who laughed at the idea of sitting eight hours to watch the Coronation Parade. George and his wife also went to the movies.

Hadn't seen Rudolph Dunbar for more than two years — and there he was two rows ahead of me at the Coronation. Said he'd been on a tour, conducting orchestras in South America. Dunbar and I crossed the channel together in 1944, entered the same day and entered Berlin in the same jeep — two very dirty and hungry war correspondents.

With the military: M/Sgt. James Adams, 1440 "W" st., nw, Washington, D.C., was the first member of the Airforce I bumped into on the streets of London. He said his sister, Ruth, lives at the above address while he is overseas. Member of the 7562nd Squadron (airbase), Adams is operations sergeant and sergeant major of his outfit. He has twelve years of service behind him, in regular Airforce, and was in London

on a 30-day furlough. Will also visit France and Germany.

Meets Air Policemen

Met Sgt. Harold E. Gibbons, 60 Greenwood ave., Montclair, N.J., member of the air police squadron, Sculthorpe RAF Station, about 60 miles from London. He was with a friend, Airman/3c Lucius Meeks, Tallahassee, Florida, also in the air police squadron.

Now the ladies in uniform. Stationed at South Ruislip, England, about 11 miles from London are two majors and a captain, who keep a flat in the city.

Major Lillian W. Duncan, 35 St. Nicholas terrace, NYC, is assigned to HQ, 3rd Air Force, in the logistical planning directorate of the assistant chief of staff for materiel. Graduate of Talladega, she was promoted to major in 1950 and is the ranking woman in the Air Force. In England

finished in England and Major Oleta L. Crain, Earlsboro, Okla., is airbase personnel officer of the 7500 Airbase Group. Graduate of Lincoln (Mo.) University, she was working on a master's degree at Denver U. when she joined the WAC in 1942.

Once Served In Alaska

She held various jobs before and after being detailed to the Air Corps as squadron commander at Lincoln airforce base in 1945. In 1951 she was sent to Alaska, thence to Germany, and finally to 3rd Air Force HQ, her present station.

Captain Abbie Sweetwine, of Coco, Fla., recently promoted, is assistant chief nurse, 494th Medical Group. I was very happy to meet her because it wasn't so many months ago that I read lots about her as the "angel of platform 6," following a train wreck in a London station.

She is credited with having saved a number of lives by her quick thinking and even quicker actions — for which she has received a commendation.

Report From Europe

31a Negro
By Ollie Stewart

Headed Behind Iron Curtain

PARIS — Diplomacy: Is Rupert Lloyd Jr. being transferred to a post behind the Iron Curtain? A reliable source here this week says that he is leaving Paris for

Budapest, Hungary, on a routine reassignment.

Negro (Ollie Stewart)



but close observers point to the fact that the former professor in Baltimore and Atlanta has done a good job of blazing the trail for others, and this may be another instance.

Diplomat Lloyd leaves Paris as Consul and First Secretary. He came here as vice-Consul and Second Secretary in 1949, from Liberia. But before his arrival in Paris, the American Embassy had been absolutely lily-white — except for Mitchell, a doorman.

Now the doorman is white, and on the inside the Department has three other persons brought up from Liberia, and three brought directly from the States. But it was Lloyd who first crashed the inside color bar.

Hughes Books Purged

Books: Langston Hughes is the biggest victim here of the recent purge by a State Department group that has cleared the shelves of American libraries abroad of "unwelcome" books. Langston's books have been confiscated (though not burned) — despite the fact that he has for years been one of the most popular writers in the USA, where the French are concerned.

The USIS (United States Information Service) had previously cracked down on the writings of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, eminent scholar and historian. And a biography of Paul Robeson also bit the dust, because the life story of the singer was not considered the kind of reading matter the Department could sponsor abroad.

People: Baltimore's singing Marion Downs passed through town this week en route to the Italy she loves. Marion just had time to phone me from the airport between planes. Three years ago, on a Fulbright grant, she studied opera in Milan and gave recitals in several European countries.

Guests of the week include two sisters on their way to Germany to visit a third sister. They were Mrs. P. D. Jackson, Birmingham, Ala., and Mrs. DuBois Brown, San Antonio, Texas, en route to Munich to see their sister, Mrs. James O. Posey.

They arrived in England June 16, and before they sail for home on Aug. 1, they will have had a quick look at Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy, in addition to England, France and Germany.

A packed house at the British Embassy Church greeted organist Kenneth Goodman of Philadelphia, and Ruth Reese, mezzo-soprano, of NYC, when they appeared in a joint recital on June 28.

The audience was a top-drawer collection of musicians, diplomats and students who got what would have been their money's worth, even if they had paid,

It Seems To Me

By Dr. O. B. Taylor



Durham, N. C., is now 100 years old, having had its beginning in 1853, when Dr. Carl Durham, a country physician, gave the North Carolina railroad Co., at that time operating trains between Goldsboro and Charlotte, 4 acres of land for a depot site. The railroad accepted the offer, and named its new station in what was nothing but a field. Durham. Just a few days ago, the city celebrated its first centennial with appropriate ceremonies. It is now, one of the major cities of the state, with a population of some 30,000 Negroes and approximately 45,000 whites. The efforts of both races have made Durham unique. The progress of the Negroes there, is well-nigh phenomenal, as they have the highest per capita income of any other group of Negroes in the entire USA.

They have a super wide-a-wake leadership, and some of the most successful business ventures; among these, Life Insurance Company, realtors, retail stores, as well as one of the most noted colleges of the south. When the planning committee were called upon the Negroes to join them in the mammoth celebration referred to, they readily accepted, but insisted upon an integrated basis. They asked the Committee to advise them of their stand in the matter. According to on the spot reports, the Negroes are still awaiting their answer. Perhaps no where else in the south, is the Negro more compactly organized, and follow their leadership, than is the case in Durham.

"Keep your self-respect in tact, and have nothing to do with an affair, whose promoters hold you in contempt because of your race" said one of their leaders.

So, Durham's centennial was a all-white affair, as only one Negro, according to reports, participated, and he drove one of the white floats. Last month, two Negroes in Durham, offered themselves for political preferment, by seeking seats of the city council. Neither was elected, but both received large numbers of votes, in many instances in precincts predominantly white.

The whites knew full well for whom their ballots were being cast. This act would seem to point to the fact, that all the white people there, are not anti-Negro.

Any one, however, seeking to keep his self-respect in tact, could hardly be condemned by any freedom-loving people. But, there is something pathetic about a custom or practice, which serves to bar 40 per cent of the population of a city or community, from participation in the celebration of the centennial of that city or community. From this corner, there appears to be a difference between civic intermingling and social intermingling. The former seems to involve ordinary or basic rights in the body politic; while the other appears to connote a privilege, that may or may not be extended. It appears to be rather clear that everyone should have the right to choose his immediate associates, which involves the right of personal choice, and is fundamental and basic to the well-being of a healthily functioning of orderly society.

This, however, raises the question, how far is a state or nation justified, in attempting to prescribe rules, and determine by law, who shall or shall not be friends or associates? Should not these basic rights be left, not to the state, but the individuals concerned? The fact, that numerous whites in Durham voted for a Negro to serve on their city council, offers convincing evidence, that they have no objection to Negro representation in the civic affairs of their city.

I have just received a copy of the Durham Herald morning paper's centennial issue, containing 256 pages. This special issue seemed to spare no pains in playing up the progress made there by the Negro, especially was this true in areas of education; economic and business.

There appears in pictures, along with those of the whites, Negro schools-both public and college; recreational-business buildings, as well as individuals, who by sheer tenacity, honesty and industry, have carved out for them-

selves, careers that would do credit to any ethnic group. Just what is the why of it all, over there and elsewhere? Status-quo. The status-quo element, throughout the ages served effectively, as brakes upon the wheels of progress, in any and all endeavors. Status-quo almost prevented the voyage of Columbus. Dr. Washington Carver, refused to listen to the voice of status-quo, and set out alone to determine whether or not, the peanut and sweet potato, were not hiding undiscovered potentialities. Clarence Bunch, looked beyond status-quo and affected an understanding between two warring nations.

When the world decides it shall no longer be hopelessly bound by the false, but strong ties of status-quo, and is willing to take an advanced step in interracial relationship, the Negro will give the world, not one but thousands of Clarence Bunches; Marion Andersons; Percy Julian and William Hasties; etc.

In the natural order of things, Durham, 100 years from now will have its second centennial or biennial; will wisdom, knowledge, understanding and appreciation increase there, and elsewhere with revolving years?

Run off Election, lands Negro on Durham's city council, with aid of white voters, says report, which have come in since this article was begun

Durham has elected its first Negro citizen to its governing body, and has already been sworn in for office, according to reports emanating from that city.

R. N. Harris, an Insurance Executive, who is now on the city council thus climaxing a ten years struggle by Negroes to place one of their own representatives, said in part the following, "Naturally, I'm extremely happy to have been elected a member of Durham's city council. As promised, I shall aim at all times to serve the best interest of all Durham citizens. Many thanks to those who voted for me."

Labor in the News

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

THE CITIZENS of Chicago, as well as citizens from many sections of our nation gathered here Monday to pay the final tribute to one of America's illustrious sons, Ashby B. Carter.

As President of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Mr. Carter, for many years, quietly worked for the improvement of the conditions under which many of our postal employees daily worked.

Mr. Townsend



Yet, while doing this most useful job in behalf of forty thousand Negro postal employees, he was a very active worker for community betterment.

Carter
AS MOST Worshipful Master of the Masons in the State of Illinois his work in this field will go down as one of the all-time major achievements in fraternal organizations.

Ashby Carter could be considered a leader in many fields. However, I knew him best in the field of labor.

He was one of those rare men who welded the workers into organized and disciplined organizations for their general well-being. The

events which were forcing labor unions more irrevocably along the path of full-scale political action.

Ashby Carter recognized that the creation of democratic unions was a difficult undertaking and oddly enough he knew that leaders working toward enhancing democracy in their unions would weaken their own control. However, he ran that risk and instead of losing control, to his everlasting glory, he grew in stature and was loved by all.

HE KNEW that labor was no longer a small minority, but the largest organized group in the country.

No longer was it possible for labor to view government solely in terms of what it could get by way of assistance and special privilege. It should also consider its obligations.

He knew the fact that our business economy was geared to a system of individual rights and obligations, making it exceedingly difficult for any individual or group of individuals to rise above its own level and think in terms of the community.

But that is what he and his group did to insure the survival of democracy and the security of labor's own future.

ASHBY CARTER acknowledged the economic policy of labor was not alone important. The several sectors of modern life—the economic, the political, the social are intertwined, and the government acts on all fronts.

He knew that operating politically, labor could notlect questions that were primarily economic. Nor could it afford to take a narrow and short-run point of view.

While the Hatch Act prevented postal employees from the sons of the poor who rarely had more than a grammar school education or a few

Wherein Mr. Townsend Pays Tribute to One Of America's Top Sons

new and pressing problems. Finally, they must persuade the rank and file to follow them along the paths they have chosen.

No men face a bigger challenge. No men can contribute so much by successfully meeting it. The future of democracy is in labor's hands.

Labor in the News

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

DR. ALONZO G. MORON, president of Hampton Institute, delivered a very scholarly and highly appreciated address to the CIO national convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

President of the CIO, Walter P. Reuther, referred to Dr. Moron's speech in glowing terms. Such men as Dr. Moron and Dr. Ralph Bunche are real Americans and have contributed more to world peace than all the Byrneses et al, he stated. Mr. Townsend

The CIO News pointed out the following with regard to Dr. Moron: "The Hampton (Va.) educator lauded the fact that CIO 'adopted no special qualifications for special groups, but that you hold them to the same standards and expect the same performance from them that you require from anyone else. To do otherwise would be just as unfair and dangerous to democracy as to adopt policies of exclusion or second-class membership.'

"MORON RECALLED that CIO groups had often used the facilities of Negro colleges in the South when it was necessary to meet 'beyond the pale of the enforcers of segregation statutes and ordinances.'

"Discussing the brighter prospects of higher educational opportunities for Ne-

groes, Moron said higher appropriations by Southern states for Negro state colleges were 'more hysterical than judicious,' as they face the

possibility that equal facilities at every college level will be ordered by the Supreme Court.

"He traced the development of institutions of higher learning for Negroes from the two or three that existed at the end of the Civil War to the more than one hundred operating today. Moron said that there were 2,600 Negroes in colleges in 1900, but that number had increased by 2,800 per cent in 1950, while the total student body in all colleges was growing only 1,100 per cent.

"BY 1950, he went on, 74,000 Negroes were enrolled in colleges, only 15,000 of them outside the South. By far the larger portion of these were students in private colleges for Negroes in the South.

"Discussing the role of private colleges, President Moron said, 'Despite the improvements made in state colleges for Negroes and the huge appropriations made by state legislatures in recent years in a futile, really hypocritical attempt to equalize facilities, the bulk of the burden of higher education for Negro youth is still being borne by the privately supported college. And this is just as it should be.'

"The speaker contended that private education for all people is an essential element of private enterprise in a free

society.

"We stand to lose a great deal in our hopes for higher education and in our freedom to explore or experiment if we allow the state, in the smaller or larger sense of the word, to take complete control of education," he said.

"REVIEWING THE decisions of the Supreme Court affecting equalization of opportunity for Negroes, Moron quoted the dissenting opinion of the late Justice Harlan in such a case.

"Our Constitution is color blind," the justice wrote, "and neither ~~knows~~ nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. . . . The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved."

The convention pledged CIO to increasingly vigorous leadership in a multiple program "to realize the democratic rights promised by our Constitution, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin." Specific proposals included:

That all CIO affiliates through collective bargaining seek non-discriminatory hiring and equal pay contract clauses.

THAT CIO Council and local union civil rights committees expand their work, in

Labor in the News

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

IT SEEMS only yesterday that I was passing around cigars to my friends and advising them of the new addition to my family, a son. During the years that followed I quite enthusiastically watched him finish kindergarten, grade school and then high school. Last year I sat in the chapel on the campus of the University of Chicago and saw him receive his Bachelor of Science degree; now, today, a new phase. Just a



Mr. Townsend

year later I stood by while he was being inducted into the Air Force of the United States.

Upon returning to the office I pondered over the events of the past nineteen years and, no doubt, my experience has been

the experience of many fathers. I had a feeling of great satisfaction because I knew I was sending into the services of our country a young man who was well prepared, and that his preparation might well be used for those things for which I have fought over the years — justice, equality and

all of the things for which democracy stands. No doubt this sort of thinking coming from a labor leader appears "panty-waisted," but on an occasion like this, men cease to be leaders and remember that they are fathers.

THE EXPERIENCE I had today leaves me with a feeling of nostalgia. I recall back in 1917 when I was trotted off to the Army how my parents bade me goodbye with a look of dejection in their eyes. I Paul Shearer. By his personal warmth, quiet persuasion and sorrow that engulfed them, be devotion to principle, he exuded cause in my youth I was eager to go along with the rest of the boys in the struggle to whom he knew.

"make the world safe for democracy."

However, ending the shoot with men. Open-hearted, ing war was not the end. Above-board, unpretentious and far greater struggle had to be gentle, he found his way into

the home for the minds and affections of his

fellowmen.

Step by step our people and their leaders hammered away of good work . . . a memory

at the bastions of bigotry and that will direct the feet of oth-

watched them crumble one by one unto the wholesome path-

one. The struggle is by no means which he trod.

means over but there has been To those of us who worked a favorable improvement since with Paul Shearer, we shall be

the days when I was dis-

charged from the Army. It is many lessons in humility and

my fervent desire that Junior grace which he taught us.

will catch the spirit and return To his family, our sincerest

from the service to take his condolences.

place with others in the great

fight that must continue.

In a note today from one of our readers the question was posed regarding the role of the Negro worker after the AFL and CIO conclude their peace negotiations. I will write on this later, since there is much to be said along these lines.

To Paul Shearer

We add another obituary to "Labor in the News" which unhappily has noted too many in the year gone by.

Not long ago it was Philip Murray, who left us bereaved; almost yesterday it was Allan Haywood, and today it is another dear friend . . . Paul Shearer.

Paul was too young to die—only 44—but he lived a beautiful and useful life. In behalf of the working men and women he traveled the highways and byways of the State of Ohio telling the story of Trade Union idealism, preaching the gospel of brotherhood and tolerance.

FEW MEN in the State of Ohio have made a greater contribution to the spirit of the Brotherhood of Man than did Paul Shearer. By his personal warmth, quiet persuasion and devotion to principle, he exuded a magnificent and magnetic influence which won over those to whom he knew.

Advice to a Young Man Entering AAF: Tribute to Shearer

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

Labor in the News

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

THE recent NAACP conven-

tion held in St. Louis, Mo.

June 23 to June 28, has attract-

ed the attention of many of

America's thoughtful labor lead-

ers. Under the able guidance of

Herbert Hill, NAACP labor re-

lations assistant, a strong pro-

collective bargaining agree- Brick and Clay Workers of ments. Negro workers and the America, AFL; United Automobile Workers of America, CIO; entire Negro community have brie Workers of America, CIO; directly benefited from these United Steelworkers of America, CIO; International Hod Carriers Union, AFL; Internation American labor movement, and therefore the NAACP vigorous- al Union of Electrical Workers, Bartenders International Union, organized labor.

They urge continued support AFL; Virginia State Industrial for labor's historic struggle for Union Council, CIO; Interna-

shorter hours through a re- tional Brotherhood of Teams- duced work week with no re- ters, AFL; Amalgamated Cloth-

evolution on la- ders, CIO; Indiana State Industrial Union Council,

employment calls also support demands for im- proved overtime provisions, a CIO; New Jersey State Indus-

guaranteed annual wage, bet- trial Union Council, CIO, and the Jewish Labor Committee.

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guaranteed annual wage, bet- trial Union Council, CIO, and the Jewish Labor Committee.

It is indeed heartening to find improvements in working condi- tions and urge repeal of all the NAACP taking such a strong

crippling provisions of the and positive position as indi-

Taft-Hartley Law. It is also of interest to know that, accord- ing to Mr. Hill, there are more fers its salute.

Negro dues-paying members in

organized labor than in the

NAACP, therefore they would

not be faithful to the best in-

terest of the masses of Negro

workers if they failed to give

support to democratic trade

unions.

THE CONVENTION, in its resolution, called upon all labor

unions to negotiate strong anti-

discrimination clauses into their

contracts and to provide for

vigorous enforcement of these

agreements, and admonishes

the new leadership of the AFL

to take affirmative action to

end the various forms of ra-

cial discrimination practiced by

certain affiliated international

unions.

As of June, 1953, there are

three international unions

which exclude Negroes from

membership by constitutional

provision. Five internationals

of grievances through demo-

cratically-arrived-at grievance exclude Negroes by tacit con-

procedures have become almost sent and practice, and nine in-

ternationals, that as a general

policy and practice, segregate

Negroes to "auxiliary locals."

The following labor organi-

zations were represented at the

convention: Brotherhood of

Railway Car Men, AFL; United



Mr. Townsend

Hundreds of thousands of Negro workers belong to labor unions in every part of the country. While the racial practices and policies of labor unions vary from full integration to total exclusion, it becomes increasingly possible to use the trade union as an instrument to eliminate racial discrimination in employment, likewise to remind members who belong to those CIO, AFL and non-Communist independent unions where there is no color bar, to be active and loyal union members.

UNIONS SERVE the interest of all America, is their commitment. Through collective bargaining, sound systems of seniority have been established, vacations with pay have been extended to many millions of workers, paid holidays have been won, and the settlement of grievances through demo-

cratically-arrived-at grievance exclude Negroes by tacit con- procedures have become almost sent and practice, and nine in-

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Labor in the News

By WILLARD S. TOWNSEND

THE NATIONAL Labor Relations Board recently barred separate white and Negro units in a plant and stated that "the difference in the race of the employees involved is obviously no justification for separate units."

This ruling may have considerable effect in speeding an end to jim-crow unions which have disgraced the American labor movement. The Railroad Brotherhoods and certain AFL internationals such as the Boilermakers and the Building Trades have notorious anti-Negro records.

Here is the story. In 1946, the AFL Boilermakers became the bargaining representative for the workers at the Andrews Industries plant in St. Louis. The contract called for a union shop, but one worker was a Negro and couldn't join the jim-crow union. He was allowed to continue working though, and he received the same contract benefits as the white workers.

IN 1950, the company purchased another St. Louis plant whose workers were absorbed into the unit represented by the Boilermakers' union.

The Negro workers at this plant were not allowed to join the union, but they received the same benefits as the white workers.

Later that year, some of the white workers complained to the owner that the Negroes should belong to the union too. When the Boilermakers' business agent heard of this, he brought in a business agent for the AFL Teamsters' union.

The employer introduced the Teamsters' agent to his four Negro employees who all joined the Teamsters' union.



Mr. Townsend

In December, 1950, there was a consent election among these Negro workers and the Teamsters' union was certified as their bargaining agent. No separate contract was negotiated as the Teamsters' union agreed to go along with the Boilermakers' current contract.

IN 1952 the employer filed a petition for one unit of all his employees — Negro and white.

Both the AFL Boilermakers and Teamsters opposed the petition, saying 'that in view of the past bargaining history, only separate units of the white and colored employees are appropriate.'

The NLRB upheld the employer's position and turned down the unions' request for two separate units. The unions involved were given three options in the election: (1) the Boilermakers and Teamsters could appear on the ballot as joint representatives; (2) they could go on the ballot separately, or (3) if either union didn't want to take part in the election it could withdraw.

The NLRB made it clear that if the two unions decided to appear on the ballot jointly they would have to bargain jointly for all workers — Negro and white — in a single unit. "In the event," the NLRB said, "equal representation is not accorded all employees in the unit, then the board can, of course, rescind its certification."

AN IMPARTIAL survey last week praised the CIO Auto Workers for helping the International Harvester Company to enforce its anti-discrimination policy in three Southern plants.

The report of the Committee of the South of the National Planning Association pointed out that at two of the plants, Memphis and Evansville, Ind., the UAW-CIO is "virtually the sole representative on non-managerial ship employees."

He Claims Jim-Crow Unions Have Disgraced The U. S. Labor Movement

At the Louisville plant, UAW shares jurisdiction with other unions. The report which was prepared for the committee by John Hope II, director of industrial relations Department, says: "The company minority policy states 'there shall be no discrimination against any person because of nationality, race, sex, political or religious affiliation.'

"While this policy was espoused and implementation initiated before unions obtained bargaining rights in any of these plants, virtually all of the union locals, both CIO and AFL, which subsequently became representatives of the employees have accepted the policy and incorporated it into their contracts with management.

"THE CLAUSES in some of the craft union contracts are less comprehensive than those on some other locals at the Louisville Works, but generally they are at least explicitly non-discriminatory as the prevailing policies of their parent international unions.

"Through the continuous application of this minority policy in these three plants from their beginning, the Negro's share in their total employment has continuously increased, and the percentage of Negroes engaged in job classifications above the unskilled level has grown significantly.

"From the time the plants were opened until the end of 1950, Negro employment more than trebled at the Louisville Works, and approximately doubled at Evansville and Memphis in relative importance.

"During the same period, of the total number of Negroes employed in the respective Southern plants, the percentage of those engaged in job classifications above common labor, almost doubled at the Louisville Works, was more than five times as great at the Evansville Works, and almost trebled at the Memphis Works."

Willard TOWNSEND

Kraft Foods Uses Unique Dodge To Avoid Hiring Negro Workers

"(1) In the hiring and employing friend in the lobby in one of the of this contract the contractor downtown hotels, I picked up a shall not refuse to employ or very interesting newspaper, the otherwise discriminate against Polish Daily News, which is pub- any person in regard to employ- lished here in Chicago, mostly in ment because of that person's ban Polish but some English.

In perusing this paper I saw in religion, nor because the person the help-wanted column the fol- has made a complaint or given ago, it has diligently applied its

loring. "SM Women 18-35. Must information with respect to an talents and efforts to the improv-

be able to speak and write Eng. alleged failure to comply with the ing of the economic lot of the fish. General factory work. No provisions of this clause.

American Negro

experience necessary. Start \$1.35 "(2) If any question arises at

How well the Negro has im- per hour. Raise in 30 days. Swing any time as to whether or not proved was pointed up in last shifts, change every 2 weeks. Bon. there has been a failure on the week's issue of TIME Magazine.

us when working on night shift part of the contractor to comply TIME magazine gives quite a

Free uniforms and hospital plan with the provisions of this clause, story as to the vast improvement Paid vacations. Cafeteria in build. the Minister or Deputy Minister of the Negro during the past dec-

ing. Kraft Foods Co. 450 E. Illi. of Labour or any other person ad. or so. However, behind the

nos st. ~~31~~ designated by the Minister of advancement of the Negro are

Since Kraft Foods is quite a Labour for the purpose shall such organizations as the Nation-

large organization, I wondered if decide the question, subject to al Urban League.

similar ads had been placed in Sub-clause 5, and his decision

In the recent newsletter of the

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point with rightful pride to some

of their current accomplishments.

In San Francisco they talk of the

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Labor Council there to an all-out

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In Cleveland, Ohio the work with

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trical Workers, CIO, the Interna-

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the Amalgamated Clothing Work-

ers, Textile Workers, and the

Chemical Workers all cooperated

in breaking down race barriers so

far as jobs and other conditions

are concerned.

While devices are being devis-

ed in our country to continue the to comply with any of the provi-

discrimination against certain cions of this clause, shall constitute

groups, I find that our neighbor a material breach of the contract.

to the north (Canada) has just

"(5) If the contractor is dissat-

adopted a very interesting type of isfied with a decision under sub-

FEPC law. Beginning January 1. clause (2) of this clause he may,

1933, the law provides that a non- within thirty days after the de-

discrimination clause must be in- cision was made, request the Min-

cluded in all Canadian Govern- ister of Labour to refer the ques-

ment contracts.

For those who are interested in the Minister of Labour shall refer

fair employment practices I am the question to a judge of a super-

quot; herewith the five impor- county or district court,

tant paragraphs which go to make whose decision is final for the

up the provision of FEPC in Can- purposes of this contract."

Most certainly our Canadian

Brethren are entitled to a salute

from those of us who believe in equality of opportunity.

Willard TOWNSEND

National Urban League Applauded For Its Hand In Negro Achievement

One of the great organizations in America is the National Urban League. Since its founding by a group of stalwarts ~~now~~ years ago, it has diligently applied its

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Adventures in RACE RELATIONS

by Enoc P. Waters

OVERZEALOUS RACISTS OFTEN MISS MARK

Overzealousness on the part of race baiters has frequently resulted. One of the classic examples occurred several years ago in Atlanta.

What recalls the Atlanta incident is the bombing last week in Memphis of an apartment building in a white neighborhood recently populated by Negroes.

It is strange that this technique of showing disapproval of Negroes moving into white neighborhoods persists though we don't know of one instance it has achieved its purpose.

Usually the attacks made by hoodlums on Negro property owners strengthens their resolve to stay, such was the case in Chicago's Englewood section. Last year a Negro family moved into a newly purchased home and the property was promptly bombed.

They repaired the damage, announced their intention to stay and the police posted a 24-hour guard. Last week another Negro family moved into the block. The hoodlums bombed the new-comers, but ignored the family directly across the street.

But to get back to the Atlanta incident. It occurred shortly after the U.S. Supreme Court decision on restrictive covenants when the old wool hats of Dixie were predicting all sorts of dire consequences and informing the world that white Southerners would not abide by it.

The words were almost identical with those that are being used in connection with the anticipated U. S. Supreme Court decision on public school segregation.

So, when a Negro family purchased a home in a white section of the city, the transaction was given more than passing notice, especially by the Negro press.

Certain ignorant elements of the population that take the blatherings of the Dixie demagogues seriously were aroused by the reports and felt impelled to take action.

With the stupidity typical of their kind, they failed to note all the facts and set forth to express themselves in the only way they knew — by violence.

They drove through the block several times, spotting the house and waiting for an opportunity to carry out their mission.

On their last trip they hurled the bomb and sped away. Right through a front window it went and exploded, doing considerable damage to the property and injuring the occupants, one or two of them seriously.

Imagine the reaction of the hoodlums when they read reports in the papers the following day. The injured were all white.

The Negroes were not to occupy the dwelling for another two weeks. This had been mentioned in the news stories but the hoodlums had overlooked it.

IT'S NOT WHAT IT SEEMS

What is often described by witnesses as a racial clash often stems from some other cause far removed from considerations of race. It has happened so many times that it is point of out one more time can do no harm.

During the war it was customary for the military districts to assign military police to beats in areas where soldiers were likely to frequent.

While it was the assumption that the civilian and military police would work cooperatively, actually there were a number of clashes between the two over whose authority took precedence over the other.

When more police arrived and straightened out the affair the disorderly GI had disappeared.

Little things were magnified all out of proportion. For example, it is customary for civilian police to use revolvers. Military police always use automatics. ~~at 7-253~~ There were heated arguments over the relative merits of the two types of weapons. These did not improve relations between the two types of officers.

In one Southern city where Negro police had been appointed to work in the Negro ghetto only, the colored officers were very proud of their jobs. Because their authority was somewhat limited they resented the "outside" interference of the MPs who happened to be white.

On one occasion there was a disturbance in a beer parlor and the owner called the civilian police because they were his friends even though the cause of the disorder was an intoxicated soldier.

The two Negro officers arrived and took charge of the situation and were attempting to remonstrate with the inebriated GI when the two white MPs walked in.

Immediately the Negro policemen jumped on the defensive and refused to hand the soldier

Adventures in RACE RELATIONS

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DEFENDER

by Enoc P. Waters

over to the MPs. They held no brief for the soldier because he had abused, cursed and attempted to humiliate them. Race was no consideration even though the soldier like them was colored, but they resented the intrusion of the military police.

The dispute over the soldier finally developed into a situation between the military and civilian police with each pulling guns and threatening the other.

The harried owner of the establishment finally had to place another call for police to come to settle the disorder the police had created.

Little things were magnified all out of proportion. For example, it is customary for civilian police to use revolvers. Military police always use automatics. ~~at 7-253~~ There were heated arguments over the relative merits of the two types of weapons. These did not improve relations between the two types of officers.

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Current Events

BY CARTER WESLEY

I TOOK "KILROY" up to Palestine to get pictures and a story of Theodore Jackson Thursday afternoon, he got the story, but I find that his pictures were all bad. Friday I had breakfast at Dave Garner's (in Dallas), then went around to Durham's office to look up some ~~law~~ and ~~that he was~~ was in court, but his staff was very courteous and accommodating. Upon inquiry I found that both Mrs. Charlesetta Jones and President Prestwood were out at the Excelsior Life Insurance Co.

Saturday I had set in my schedule to go to Prairie View for the Housing meeting, but what with the rush of things in my own office, and the fact that Mrs. Jones did not get through ~~check~~ my car in time, when I got to Prairie View the Housing meeting was just over. I found Dr. Brown for a chat, went to Dr. Evans' house, and he finally butted into me for a minute. I hadn't seen Mrs. Evans in ~~monkey's~~ years, and it was a most pleasant surprise to find that time seems to have entered a conspiracy with her, she looked as young as she did 10 or 12 years ago when I last saw her. not that she is as old as Doc or I, but I mean that there is not a wrinkle, even, or a crease in her face. I didn't stop at Dr. Bank's house, I saw him standing in his yard in his shirt sleeves talking to somebody, presumably about his flowers.

The NAACP doesn't seem as close to our lives, or maybe it is better to say as much a part of our lives, as it used to. With the new departure that the NAACP took in 1946, it now only fights for integration, and since we still live in a pattern of segregation, it no longer touches our lives on nine-tenths of the ~~area~~. The NAACP also lost its monopoly on cases that had to do with fighting for our rights in the courts. Various private enterprises and fraternities are raising the money to fight suits on their own now. The fight for integration does not have as many facets as goes to fight against segregation. Indeed, the NAACP officials now are like people who have moved into the other part of town from those who live across the tracks, and they are not familiar with the problems, and, therefore, they are less

familiarly known to the masses. There was a recent release from the national office on a restricted covenant case in California, but it doesn't cause the blood in anybody's veins to quicken, because it doesn't threaten the Supreme Court decision on restricted covenants. it is merely an intent to clarify one specific phase that came up in California. Take the school cases that are pending, somehow they have not brought the support nor the contributions to the NAACP that used to follow in the wake of such cases.

THE 1953 NEGRO OF THE U.S.A. is given four full pages in Time magazine this week in its issue that comes off Thursday and is dated May 11. In its frankness, and in the comprehensive manner in which it covers the actions, aspirations, and thinking of both the white and the American Negro in America on the race question, it is the best we have seen since Gunnar Myrdal's exhaustive book of 1944. Hurry to the stands and get yourself a copy, or make a date now with your friend that takes Time so that you will be sure to get a chance to read it. As a tip to you, nearly every executive in The Informer Chain reads Time magazine weekly, you might borrow from them if you know them.

JUST ANOTHER UNIVERSALITY" could be said of Fisk University today. In my day Fisk, to all intents and purposes, was a segregated school for Negroes, except that you had some New England teachers who came down and taught ~~understand~~ in earlier years the children of some of the teachers from New England had gone to Fisk. But in my day, and long afterwards, it only had Negro students. According to the theory of Thurgood Marshall and Walter White, nothing should have been done to improve Fisk because it was segregated. But a lot was done to improve Fisk, and today one goes on the tennis court and he is likely to see a white boy and a colored boy playing tennis on one end against, maybe, a colored boy and a Filipino or a Haitian or some other end of the court. He looks up in the Mozart Society and he spies white kids up there singing. Sauntering along on the campus you may see two white kids together. You may see a white kid and a couple of colored kids

walking along, chatting away freely. When you go to social functions you don't know whether the chief hostess will be white or colored, and you never know where there is any distinction, because which ever the chief hostess turns out to be they all work together, so that they all have one aim. That's the way we here at The Informer would like to see transitions take place, when the Supreme Court holds, as it ultimately must, that segregation in education is illegal. We'd like to see good Negro schools where white students would go, just the same as Negroes are going to white schools. That can't happen unless we insist upon improving the so-called Negro schools of today, which are segregated, as much as we possibly can, both to give our kids the best training while they are segregated, and also to have more schools for all the children when segregation is abolished.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

A RED LETTER DAY for labor is Monday, May 11, when Negro employees of the Southern Pacific shops will be allowed to become members of Local 222, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. It is a big day for the International and means that they have ~~overcome~~ the obstacle that was largely the prejudice of many of their members.

It is a big day for Negroes, who for many, many years have done yeomanly work in the SP shops, but were never permitted to get the advantages and the pay of the union. It is a victory for those men who have stayed on as well as for those who left in protest and went to other sections of our country, and in some instances even to other lands, to work as full-fledged boilermakers.

Yes, it is a victory and a big day for those who accepted the auxiliary union No. 42, for the 11th of May is a direct payoff for the doggedness and the long suffering of these men of Local 42.

Again I say it is a victory for labor generally, for while the medical doctors of Harris County cannot

Negro (CARTER WESLEY)

walk along, chatting away freely. When you go to social functions you don't know whether the chief hostess will be white or colored, and you never know where there is any distinction, because which ever the chief hostess turns out to be they all work together, so that they all have one aim. That's the way we here at The Informer would like to see transitions take place, when the Supreme Court holds, as it ultimately must, that segregation in education is illegal. We'd like to see good Negro schools where white students would go, just the same as Negroes are going to white schools. That can't happen unless we insist upon improving the so-called Negro schools of today, which are segregated, as much as we possibly can, both to give our kids the best training while they are segregated, and also to have more schools for all the children when segregation is abolished.

It would have been good if the board of TSU could have had a bit of silence surrounding its work as of new ground. Maybe I over-draw the picture, but let it be remembered that my father worked practically all of his life in the SP shops, and my first work as a man in Houston was in the summer at the SP shops, when I used to return from college. I am doubly proud of the SP shops and the little association I have had with them.

MISSOURI is threatening to move out of the South. The Public School committee of the State House of Representatives has ~~approved~~ a bill which would end segregation in public schools on all levels—grammar, high, and college. Significantly, the action in the committee was taken without a dissenting voice, and with no person or group appearing to oppose the measure at the hearing.

It is worth noting that in South Illinois, which is very close to St. Louis, integration has been procured through court action. Also the town of East St. Louis has accepted integration in the elementary schools. This also is a South Illinois town, but probably has closer affiliation between it and St. Louis proper than the other towns.

WRITING TO that son, or that neighbor's son who is off to the war, is one of the kindest things you can do. If you are too lazy to write, why not send him his favorite newspaper, whether it be one of the Informer Chain or a daily paper.

UNESCO is important to all Negroes in America, in Liberia, in Haiti in Ethiopia, and to people of color and of colonial exploitation throughout the world. A request for appropriations for the operation of UNESCO is now before the Senate Appropriations committee. Write to Senators Bridges, Honer Ferguson, Karl E. Mundt, Allen J. Ellender Sr., and Warren G. Magnuson, Senate office building, Washington, D.C.; don't ask them to do anything about the appropriations, just tell them the important UNESCO is from any angle you want, and ask them to support UNESCO.

RAM'S HORN

By CARTER WESLEY

It would have been good if the board of TSU could have had a bit of silence surrounding its work as of new ground. Maybe I over-draw the picture, but let it be remembered that my father worked practically all of his life in the SP shops, and my first work as a man in Houston was in the summer at the SP shops, when I used to return from college. I am doubly proud of the SP shops and the little association I have had with them.

Week before last Mr. Rice dramatically flung out a question as to whether or not Dr. Lanier had "leaked" information from the board to Carter Wesley about meeting dates and the like. Without a shred of proof, and not even a bit of circumstantial evidence, he just threw the question out metaphorically. That, ~~was~~, was a part of Mr. Rice's scheme to do everything he can now to get Lanier in bad with the board, because Lanier exposed Rice at the last public board meeting.

Unfortunately, some of the gullible board members have been weak and stupid enough to believe that Lanier did leak information to The Informer. Well, if they believe that Lanier leaked the obvious and known fact that the board was going to meet in a public meeting, we are wondering what they are going to say about the leak to Rice, as shown in his paper last week?

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Or is it possible that the board thinks that Lanier gathered that information from three or four of his offices on the campus and took it down to Mr. Rice on a silver platter, so as to leak that, too?

As to leaks, we would indeed have a poor paper if we did not find out what happens in the president's office, or in the board's public meetings, of Prairie View and the Mayo case. In fact, one of the participants and from people who knew the facts.

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SUPPRESSING FACTS

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The Informer from carrying stories, lest Lanier be charged. The boys are naive and just don't know The Informer, they can charge Lanier with anything they want, and so far as we are concerned they can put him under the jail, but we are going to print what we darn please.

Again we are suggesting to the board members that they stop listening to Rice, and stop having material leaked out to Rice, so they can devote themselves to administering the policy of the school in peace and in calm. There is absolutely no way to hide abuse of their powers, such as browbeating the president, or talking out of turn as individual members of the board, or hiding for long the work and the action of any committees.

TSU belongs to the Negro population of this state, and not to five white members of TSU's board. It is the obligation of our paper to carry the facts to the Negroes of this state constantly on all of our educational institutions, and that we intend to do. But we shall not waste time answering all of Rice's tirades, because Rice isn't going to stop lambasting Lanier and making up canards about him until he runs out. Incidentally, we have some more evidence that Rice did try to get on the board of TSU, does Mr. Rice want to "go to the country" on this question?

TEXAS ANSWERS

All those who were riled up by the article that appeared in Esquire last month, to the effect that the United States should secede from Texas and leave Texas alone, may want to read the current issue of Esquire, where various Texans answer the article. Actually, I think it is a lot of hooey and means nothing.

TEACHERS' PAY

Well, the teachers' \$600 pay bill has passed into law, and now the question is to find some money to effectuate the law. I have a suspicion that some money will be found, even if the total \$600 isn't found, the reason I suspect it is because there is an awful lot of teachers that carry poll taxes, and the politicians know it.

POLITICAL SPEECHES

The Legislature has passed a bill freeing radio and TV stations from liability under libel suits resulting from defamatory speeches in political campaigns, and it would seem even otherwise than political campaigns. This doesn't mean that the individual who defames cannot be sued, it means the radio or TV station is not responsible and cannot be sued. We'll get a lot of mud-slinging because politicians will make judgment-proof guys that are irresponsible put out speeches, because nobody can recover from

a guy that hasn't got anything.

CHOOSING CAREERS

Wednesday I attended another conference or panel discussion on careers for seniors. I first attended one at Prairie View, then later I sat in one at Fisk, and Wednesday I attended the Ralph Bunche school at Crockett in an all-day session devoted to discussion of careers for senior high school students. About ten of the high schools in the general vicinity of Crockett sent their seniors in to join the seniors of Ralph Bunche High. They brought in professors and heads of departments from Bishop, Wiley, TSU, Texas College, Prairie View, Huston-Tillotson, and from business institutions. The idea is good and I hope it will be continued, the only thing I would suggest is that either shift it back to juniors entirely, or take the total high school group for a day, many kids should get information about careers in their freshman year, others not later than their sophomore year, and if you pass the junior year it is usually to late for the student to do much about what you tell him.

I enjoyed the trip as an outing, but if I hadn't, it would have been worth the trip to bump into "Old Ironsides" Shepherd, a man whom I have admired and liked for years, although I haven't seen him for ages. I also met his son, Professor Shepherd, who is teaching at the Ralph Bunche High School where the conference was.

Incidentally, during the forenoon session, when all of the consultants were given five minutes to tell of their fields, Mrs. Nannie Aycox told of the field of teaching, and stole the show.

3
BY CARTER WESLEY

Information
IF A GRAND JURY, which represents all of the people in the county, says indication that it flatly refuses to bring in a true bill against a white man for raping a Negro woman, how could Negroes be expected to trust the Grand Jury system for even handed administration of justice in the County.

If a Grand Jury, which represents the whole County, should refuse to bring in a true bill against white men who rape Negro women, how would it be expected that Negroes would support the law in its enforcement of justice against the Negro who rapes white women?

If a prosecuting Attorney, should refuse to present the evidence to a Grand Jury, involving the raping of Negro women by white men, would Negroes still be expected to have faith in such a prosecutor?

It has always seemed to us that justice to be respected must be even handed. I don't believe in a community you could administer at the same time a white form of justice to whites, and a Negro form of justice to Negroes, without doing violence to the institution of justice itself.

The obsession of racial supremacy has really corroded the reason of our leadership, if, and when, it prostitutes justice to demagogue.

RUNNING AMUCK. Ordinarily the private life of every man is his own and should be free from outside comment. But when a man gets so besides himself, over the imagined wrong involving the attention of some professor to his wife, that he not only beats the devil out of her, but turns her out in the streets to drift, has carried his private affairs to the public himself. As long as he stays in his house, he should be free from comment. But when he puts a beaten and bruised wife in the streets to drift, with all doors locked against her he has turned his problem afoot in the public.

Since the matters are now to be commented upon, I'd make the first comment that a guy who beats a woman is a coward. Men don't marry women to rear them over and chastise them as if they are kids, they marry women as partners and when they can't agree, they should disagree as adults. As long as a woman wears a man's name, she is entitled to the protection of the man from any adverse comment or exposure to the public.

let alone being exposed by the man to the public.

No man is above the law to the extent that he has a right to take a gun and literally kidnap another man, to bring him to his den in order to brow-beat him and menace him with guns.

Finally, gentlemen settle their problems quietly and not by running amuck and raising fury. The sum total of the mighty storm of rage which the gentleman displayed, has been the brutal beating of his wife, the violation of the laws of ethics and we suspect the laws of justice. Yes, I will name a name, if this depravity doesn't stop.

...

WHAT OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT? I have about settled for myself that a guy who is a communist and in public jobs, has no right to hide the fact but should be compelled to confess it. But I am not yet satisfied in my own mind that a guy who is not a communist, but who may have associated with communists either advertently or inadvertently, should be put on the rack. Seems to me that the first Amendment provides for freedom of speech and free association. If the guy is a traitor, no assumptions need be made and no appeal should be made to the first or the fifth or the fourteenth amendment. But if a guy is not a traitor, who shouldn't he be protected by the first amendment?

The obsession of racial supremacy has really corroded the reason of our leadership, if, and when, it prostitutes justice to demagogue.

YOU CAN'T TRUST EM. Last week I went down in the Valley for four short days of rest, and would you believe that while I was gone my little Catherine cut off all of her hair? What did I do when I returned and found it out? I grinned like any other guy would have done with any sense. Don't you know it was done with the consent of mommy and that the distaff side of my family was ready to do battle in protection of the right of Catherine to cut her hair? Further more, they can rely upon the fact that ultimately I'll like it, as men learn to like most of the things women do about their personal effects and clothing. Aren't we all lumps?

WEAKNESS THOUGH

STRENGTH could now be the motto of the Minute Women. A couple of weeks ago I saw a news release in which one of the leading Minute Women of Houston said that the Post Articles had made them stronger. Well, from the looks of the votes for Mrs. Larimer in the P-TA meeting in San Antonio, you

would imagine that they are showing a weakness through that strength that they have accumulated because of the articles. I think the Post by exposing the true nature of the Minute Women, all but killed them.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

MICHEL PAIGE gets the kind write-up that his phenomenal entitle him to in the current magazine, according to the information that we have received.

MENT UPON our "broth-love" and "Christian democracy" follow:

cannot ride to nor from municipal air port in the Limousines furnished for passengers that matter in the taxis that are out there for service.

Negroes are not permitted to enter our municipal parks, with money from the tax in the city of Houston.

Negroes are not permitted to be, as patrons, the Central Library, also built by taxpayers money. For that matter, the mobile library does not serve a single Negro community.

There is not a drug store down town in the drug store owned by whites, that permits Negroes to sit at the fountain for service, or for that matter to sit in the chairs that they have for the comfort of patrons stationed in some drug stores.

There is not a hotel down town, or under white owner, and operation, that will rent a room to a Negro, or serve a meal to a Negro.

So-called white churches, with the possible exception of some Catholic churches, will not permit Negroes to sit in pews generally as other visitors or as other communicants, but will either make them go in the balcony, sit in the rear, or invite them to attend church elsewhere.

In the railroad stations Negroes are not permitted to sit in the general waiting room, or use the facilities of the general waiting room, but in every instance are isolated and put behind walls and bars, as if they were wild animals, or as if they were lepers.

Neither the YWCA nor the YMCA will accept Negroes as patrons in their dormitories, even though the Negroes may be visitors and know no other place to go.

The City Hall, set up to run the business of the community, and supported by tax money, does not employ a single Negro.

The County organization, including all of the departments, such as sheriff's department, the tax

assessors' department, the courts, commissioners' offices and functions, etc., supported by taxpay- ers' money, does not employ a single Negro in any department, with the possible exception of the sheriff's department.

ON THE OTHER hand, some five or six years ago, a bold, white enterpriser decided to let Negroes park their cars in his parking lot the same as other people, and it was discovered that Negro cars did not dirty other people's cars, that Negro cars did not rise up and steal out of other people's cars, parked beside them, and so it was not long before practically every parking lot permitted Negroes to park freely.

Although Negroes had been barred from parking in parking lots for 20 or 30 years, it was found that that bar was pure spite, meanness unthought-out, unnecessary, but attributable wholly to a blind, crazy prejudice.

Then there is the abnormality in the contrast of Negroes and whites standing at bank windows in line, sometimes a white woman in front of a Negro man, sometimes a white woman behind a Negro man, and sometimes a Negro woman behind a white man or in front of him, with nothing happening; and yet Negroes and whites can't sit in a library together.

They line up sometimes as close as sardines in a can to pay their taxes at the tax window, but the Buff stadium had to make a kitchen entrance for Negroes because Negroes and whites could not stand in the same line to buy their tickets, after they had done it 20 years at the stadium.

The question is, how unchristian and stupid can so-called Christians be? These glaring and vicious perversions of Christianity, how do they hope to explain them when they get to the Judgment seat?

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

CONGRATULATIONS TO the NAACP and its Attorneys W. J. Durham and U. Simpson Tate on their winning the appeal in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals

against the Hardin Junior College at Wichita Falls, which permits

Negro(Carter Wesley)

Negro youth to enter the junior college at Wichita Falls.

Our thanks to the courage and the judicial insight which made Judge W. A. Atwell of the United States District Court hold that the five Negro youths should be admitted into the said junior college at Wichita.

The appellate court took the same position. But we submit that the only thing making it necessary to appeal only affirmed the decision of Judge Atwell, but followed it almost step by step.

Houston.

But the hidden part of the decision in this case is really more intriguing than the obvious part which gives Negroes the victory.

Both, the lower district court, and the Appellate court, doggedly deny that there is any issue as to the constitutionality of the Texas Law.

On the other hand, Article VII, Section 7 of the Texas Constitution, provides: "...separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, and impartial provision shall be made for both."

Article 2900 of Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes provides: "... no white children shall attend schools supported for colored children, nor shall colored children attend schools supported for white children."

Now the petition asks that the above quoted constitutional provisions and statutory provisions be held unconstitutional, that the board of the district be enjoined from enforcing said provisions of the law and interfering with the rights and privileges of the children by denying them equal educational facilities.

We submit that the pleading and the facts brought the Texas Constitution and laws directly in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment, which says: "...no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The plaintiffs complained that the State of Texas by its constitution and statutes, and the board of the district, by applying the Constitution and laws of Texas, were depriving the plaintiffs of their constitutional rights, and discriminating against them, contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment.

To avoid passing on the classic question as to whether segregation per se is illegal, going to the segregation provisions of the Con-

stitution and statutes of Texas, the lower court held that it was only in listening to the Fourteenth Amendment in granting these people their constitutional rights under it.

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But neither one of the courts would specifically find the constitutional provision for separate schools, nor the statutes for separate schools, unconstitutional.

In fact, neither one of the courts would even talk about it or treat it at all. That leaves a very strained situation, legally, but it is due to the fact that the Supreme Court still has that question before it to decide, and no lower court should or will want to touch on it before the Supreme Court does.

We suggest that these absurd and intolerable conflicts in normal application of the law almost make it inevitable that the Supreme

Court must declare against segregation, and must, by the flow of events, be forced sooner than later to come to a decision, in order to clear its own status and to win again respect and authority in the field of jurisprudence.

A DEMOCRATIC DAILY is promised by a mimeographed statement that I saw today. It points out that the three dailies in Houston were Republican, it does not regard the weekly papers, evidently. It said that a daily is needed immediately. The organizing committee is listed as George E. Eldridge, N. E. Coward, W. J. Nelson and M. L. Ward. They aim, as soon as they get their charter, to sell \$500,000 of common stock, and another \$500,000 in accumulative, eight per cent, preferred stock. They say the people who invest will get six per cent.

NEWSWEEK, in the current issue, spins its opinion about the progress of the Southern Negro around the recent election of five or six to City Councils in North Carolina, and the election of President Clement in Atlanta to the Board of Education.

Time gave four full pages to a discussion of the development and advancement of Negroes in its issue of the week before.

In essence, Newsweek is saying what The Informer has been saying for a long time, namely, that the masses of whites in the South are far more liberal than they themselves know or than Negroes suspect, and that they are way out in front of politicians and the other old people who run the city and state governments.

Another of the wartime statements made by The Informer was that the South had lost its battle to keep segregation, when segregation got into the magazines, the newspapers and on the radio, and in the messages and discussions of the President of the United States. But the rearguard action is still tough enough to require that we keep fighting and keep spreading our attack so that there will be no place that they will not be attacked in their reaction.

Walter WHITE

Writer Sees Tremendous Undercurrent Of Hatred In Segregationists

By the time this column reaches print the school segregation longer fits today's world." He cases will have been argued and clearly delineates the handwriting decision placed in the hands of the Court. Win or lose American Mr. McGill bases his opinion and democracy and the status of the Negro have been measurable improved by the soul searching and thinking which the cases have the problem of race. One of them forced American editorial writers is secular, the other religious. and columnists, particularly in the South, to do.

Many of the newspapers in the South have, of course, urged that the Court re-affirm the "separate but equal" doctrine. But most of his creed with discrimination the papers which did so much against any person because of violence color. To send missionaries to and rebuked those like Governors Byrnes and Talmadge, who predicted there would be violence.

But the development of editorial support for the recognition that segregation is coming close to its end and favoring its abolition is

As to the secular reason for the impending demise of segregation

Mr. McGill declares that "segregation implies inferiority. There are those who argue that it does not. But, those segregated believe it does. . . Across two great wars now we, along with other free peoples, have preached the rights of men everywhere to be free and equal-we have encouraged long oppressed peoples to rise. They have done so, and to date the Communists, with great shrewdness, have exploited successfully many of these nationalistic revolutions."

In the editorial in question he set a standard of clarity of thinking and judgment which undoubtedly will be followed by others. Therein may lie the answer as to whether there shall be peaceful integration of the schools or deliberately fomented violence.

He bluntly warns Southern state legislatures and Southerners generally that "segregation by law is finished. . . either this year, next or within the next few to come. . . There is no need beat about the bush. It therefore seems important that we dis-

those on whom it is enforced.

". . . segregation is on its way out, and he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them great disservice," concludes Mr. McGill. "The problem of the future is how to live with the change."

Walter WHITE

The Late Charlie Houston Would Have Been Proud Of 'His Boys'

Charlie Houston would have been proud had he been able to listen to the argument on school segregation before the United States Supreme Court.

It was a remarkable tribute to his memory that so many of those who were fortunate enough to get into the courtroom remarked, "If only Charlie were here."

The late and brilliant battler for human rights would, I am sure, have been proud of the way of what had been gathered, conducted by Thurgood Marshall, Spottswood Robinson, James Nabrit, Robert Carter and other young Negro lawyers whose careers Houston helped to shape had of the 14th Amendment intended

case of its kind which has ever come before the Court.

A dog crossing a stream with a piece of meat in its mouth who, too. The handiwork of more than 100 lawyers, historians, researches, educators and other social scientists since last June 8 was the dog to drop the meat in his mouth thereby losing both.

Peppered by questions from the justices, the lawyers who are fighting for the abolition of segregation knew the answers to every one of the questions asked. Not only could not have been more unprepared.

On the other side, it may prove true that they helped contribute to the victory which most people in the Court felt would be won. This is especially true of John W. Davis, 81-year-old New York lawyer detained by the State of South Carolina to defend segregation.

It was he who was retained by the steel companies to oppose seizure of the steel plants, in which case he was successful. Despite his age, he is still regarded as one of the top men of

Walter WHITE

Columnist Review Racial Progress And Looks Vividly Into The Future

Frankly, I'm puzzled as I have us do. I'm glad they traveled in never been before in my life. I'm comfort. It's good to acquaint puzzled by the meager response other people with the fact that to the utterly magnificent cam-we have cultured people able o paign with the Negro press has afford first class accommodations, been waging for the past tw o know which fork to use and be months and more to meet the able to discuss Korea and Alan Paton's second novel.

What puzzles me is that so few of our folks who are spending several million dollars this summer on vacations, travel, parties, food, liquor, clothes and other pleasant, profitable, educational or just plain ephemeral things haven't government contracts can be done set aside, say, one cent out of without federal legislation.

To put it in the crassest of terms, winning the five segregation cases can lead to Negro businessmen, doctors, lawyers, teachers and all the rest to earn more money and spend it without the haunting spectre of humiliating segregation hanging over every waking hour for Negroes.

Should we lose—the good Lord only knows how many months or years, how many dollars, how many hearts—how many blightings of ambition and dreams of our youngsters will have to be spent to bring the opportunity again.

Never has the colored press—and parts of the white press, too—done so brilliant and unselfish a job for principle's sake as they have in telling the facts and urging support for the case. We of the NAACP are profoundly and eternally grateful. But it has been shocking to read how meagre the returns have been.

The great consolation has been to read of the small amounts sent in to the various papers by those who belong to the so-called "little people" — the most detestable phrase in the English language. They truly are the "big people."

It has been interesting to read about the lavish parties, the people who have sailed or flown to all parts of the earth in deluxe accommodations. I'm glad they en-

Walter WHITE

White Lauds Quality And Prestige Of Eisenhower Little FEPC Group

President Eisenhower has certainly delivered on his pledge to do what lies in his executive power to reduce job discrimination.

The committee he has selected is top drawer in quality and prestige.

Naming Vice President Nixon as chairman lays squarely on the line the prestige of the administration, particularly the President's contention that the job of wiping out bias in plants filling government contracts can be done

each dollar for the fight which J. Ernest Wilkins of Chicago is can mean freedom or continued an admirable choice as co-chair-

second class citizenship for us and man. *Defender* So are members as Walter Reuther and George Meany of the CIO and AFL, Mrs. Helen Rogers

Biblical tithe—would pay for not Reid of the New York Herald Tribune which has consistently only the tiny forty thousand dollars needed to prepare for the re-fought discrimination of all varieties of the school cases next ties, John Roosevelt, and John L. December but for at least some McCaffrey of the International of the equally vital work which Harvester Company which estab- ought to be done right now to pre-lished through Sara Southall and pare public opinion for acceptance Fowler McCormick one of the finest records of job equality of any of decisions, should they come outlawing school segregation, con- ducting a desperately needed registration drive, telling our story over radio and television, policing daily in Washington the operations of our national government, helping the new Government Contract Compliance Committee to end job discrimination, preparing for the tough fights ahead in Congress and state legislatures—to name only a few.

Not all have been negligent or indifferent. A Texas doctor brought to the NAACP \$500 on his return from Europe for the Fighting Fund for Freedom, saying that he could not enjoy his trip unless he also helped pay for the fight at home. Others have done what they could. But all too few have answered the appeal of the Negro

Responsibility is put squarely on department heads to enforce the non-discrimination clauses which are included in every government contract.

Without withholding the slightest degree the credit for this "Solution of these two problems," Mr. Mitchell has written affirmative action which is due

Mr. Nixon, "would pave the way for highly effective work in other industries."

And be sure to send copies of all complaints for follow-up to the Washington Bureau of the NAACP at 100 Massachusetts ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Walter WHITE.

Negro Struggle For Rights Also Wins Gains For Other Minorities

Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress has sent me a fascinating exchange of correspondence between that organization and B'nai Zion Voice published by a Jewish fraternal organization, regarding a column by one of its writers, Ben David, which appeared recently.

David sharply criticizes such organizations as the American Jewish Congress for interesting themselves in civil rights, and particularly civil rights for Negroes.

"Is there a dearth of specifically Jewish problems, difficulties, issues, that we must expend our organized and communal strength on behalf of other minorities?" David asks.

And then adds, "Aside from rhetoric, when did any other minority ever aid us in fact? They are the first to turn against us at the first opportunity."

Issac Toubin, associate director of the American Jewish Congress, answered this attack with the statement that "Ben David speaks with the voice of Jewish isolationism, not less troublesome because it is ethnic rather than geographic." *8d. 11-14-53*

Toubin then proceeded to show how Negroes, for example, have given a good deal more than rhetoric to the fight against anti-Semitism.

"To take the one example," he points out, "in the litigation brought to the United States Supreme Court involving racial restrictive covenants the parties actually involved were Negroes but the import of the case was to end the use of restrictive covenants against Jews as well."

"Our assistance in the campaign to end bias in hiring and firing perhaps rebounded most of the benefit of the Negro community but only because job discrimination is sharpest against them.

"In the cure of any disease those

who are most desperately sick have the most to be thankful for but this does not mean that those who are first beginning to fail ill

have no reason for gratitude.

Toubin then proceeds to cite the vigorous support Negro organizations have given to such measures as the Quinn-Oliffe Law in New York which prohibits the quota system in medical schools and colleges.

He points out that Jews suffered more from this system than Negroes but that the latter had given unqualified and vigorous support to the fight for this anti-discrimination measure.

The State of Israel is indebted, Toubin reminds David, for its very existence to Negroes because of the deciding votes of Haiti and Liberia in the United Nations in favor of establishment of Israel.

He could have also pointed out that Negroes, through the NAACP, fought and won the famous Arkansas riot case.

The latter decision of the court in the Arkansas riot case has protected Jews, Negroes, labor unionists and members of other minorities who were tried in a hostile court atmosphere.

Toubin's concluding statement in his devastating reply to the chauvinistic Ben David merits quotation here as a sound example of increasing awareness among Americans of all races and creeds of the indivisibility of the fight against the barbarism of prejudice.

"We believe it sophistry to attempt to cleave this area into Jewish interests and non-Jewish interests. Our lives as Jews, we believe, must be rich and comprehensive enough to span a host of activities. And, we should be delinquent in the fulfillment of our purposes if we failed to address ourselves to the challenge of our total responsibilities."

Walter White Compares Arkansas Of Few Years Ago With Today

Memphis.

The new situation here is a part of the maturation of the nation and of the South. It is the product of the continuing struggle of men like the late Scipio A. Jones, Dr. J. M. Robinson, who has conducted a continuing campaign of registration and voting and, and energetic younger people like Mrs. L. C. Bates, President of the Arkansas State Conference of Branches of the NAACP.

All these and many others have refused to compromise. They have worked in the face of danger, hostility and indifference. Of these three, the most distressing is indifference, particularly on the part of some Negroes themselves.

But the significance of the changes is to be seen in the fact that today Negroes attend the University of Arkansas and nobody pays any attention to the fact that Jim Crow has ended at the graduate and professional level.

It will not be long before the same condition applies to all the tax-supported schools. Private schools like Phillips University are showing how the color line can be wiped out.

The chief danger I have found here is that there are some, both Negro and white, who make the error of believing that the problem is so close to solution that they can let up in their efforts.

But there are others, and particularly a magnificent group of younger people in the youth councils of Little Rock, who are not going to stop working until every vestige of segregation is gone.

When I asked him the nature of the fun, he told me, obviously annoyed that his job took him out of town. "There's a damned yellow nigger down here passing for white and the boys are going to take care of him."

The longest ride I have ever known was that one as the train meandered across Arkansas on to ferry boat across the Mississippi and up through that state to

Walter WHITE

Walter White Answers Criticism Of AMEs On Ohio School Issue

Some of my friends have advised me to ignore the criticism NAACP's attack on segregation by Bishop Frank Madison Reid of the AME church for my accepted section of what used to be the invitation to de-Wilberforce university, while the liver the Commencement address other part of the school continues at Central State college in Ohio to be supported by the AME. Possibly I should follow their church. For the first time in history Central State college is

But because of my respect for bi-racial. It is true that the extent Bishop Reid and because it appears to me important to set straight, I write this members of the faculty and four white students, one of whom graduated with honors at the Commencement exercises to which I spoke.

Under no circumstances do I wish to enter into the internal affairs and differences of opinion of the church. They are none of my business.

The AME church has been divided over the method of running Wilberforce university for a good many years and it is probable that those differences of opinion will not be resolved soon.

Bishop Reid is a man of courage and integrity. It was reported a few months ago that Gov. James F. Byrnes had offered to turn over the Negro schools of South Carolina to the AME church should the U. S. Supreme Court outlaw segregation. Bishop Reid is reported to have refused bluntly and promptly to permit the South Carolina Governor to use him as a cat's paw. Bishop Reid has further instructed the ministers in his diocese to oppose racial segregation in every form.

The basic issue involved in this controversy is important for another reason. Negroes have fought a difficult but winning battle against being barred from so-called "white" institutions. But segregation and integration work both ways. We must continue to fight against being barred on the basis of color; we must at the same time in our schools, church, and other institutions be not only willing to accept integration but to work actively for it.

His magnificent record makes Bishop Reid's attack on me all and much can be lost by needless the more puzzling. He declares controversy, it is the hope of this my appearance at Central State commentator that courageous and college an "insult to the battle distinguished leaders like Bishop for freedom in education which Reid will recognize the truth as Wilberforce is waging," according to the press reports. He and other churchmen base this upon the charge that Central State college "is Jim Crow in every aspect" and, therefore, my ap-

Walter WHITE

Seven Reasons Listed For Teacher Shortage To Work In Race's Favor

The concern which Negro teachers feel about their jobs in light of the possible abolition of segregation by the Supreme Court is real and valid. There is, unfortunately, little doubt that some boards of education and school superintendents will be hostile for one reason or another.

Some will attempt the tactics of the Topeka, Kans., board of education which notified six Negro teachers, anticipating a decision by the court against segregation, that their contracts would not be renewed.

Other school officials and boards may fear that employment of Negro teachers would be resented by white students and parents. Possibly deliberate campaigns of anti-Negro groups may be attempted in cities both North and South. There is no need in blinking at the fact that at least temporarily some teacher will be penalized.

But additional information is coming to light that school boards will have no other alternative except to use Negro teachers when they are qualified. Recently in this place I wrote of the study of the National Education Association which revealed that a minimum of 160,000 new teachers will be reached adulthood annually in the next September to teach in the greatly increased number of pupils, products of post-war marriages, who will enter school for the first time.

But only 35,636 new teachers were graduated this year.

Judith Crist of the New York Herald Tribune has pointed out other facets of this very serious teacher shortage. Here are seven aspects of the problem.

It is estimated that by 1960 the present high school population will be increased by at least one-third. Second, there is a decline in the quality of personnel, and particularly men, who prepared themselves to teach. The percentage of graduates qual-

ified to teach in high schools has declined fully 36 per cent, Miss Crist reports, and "will continue on the downgrade for the next two years, since Korean veterans are not returning to the upper grades in college as World War II veterans did."

A third reason for decline in the number of available teachers is that, at least for white teachers, there are increasing opportunities for college graduates outside teaching so that many are lost to the schools on a competitive basis.

Besides better paid jobs and greater opportunity for advancement, many women teachers marry and give up their jobs. Others go on to graduate study while still others are "recruited" for other professions and industries.

This situation with respect to men constitutes the fourth factor. Miss Crist warns will result in an even more acute shortage of teachers. Particularly in those fields

which revealed that a minimum of 160,000 new teachers will be reached adulthood annually in the greatly increased number of pupils, products of post-war marriages, who will enter school for the first time.

Korean veterans with greater maturity and experience, outlook, family status and vocational am-

bition are enrolling to a lesser extent in college and especially teachers' colleges.

A seventh and final factor is that teachers' salaries have not kept pace either with the cost of living or with salaries in other fields. Thus schools find it difficult to compete at all levels for particularly men.

Thus entirely aside from the issue of segregated or non-seg-

gated schools, the educational system of America is already squarely up against a condition which is so difficult and presently insoluble that every qualified teacher, irrespective of race, will have to be used or there will be no education at all for a great many American children.

Walter WHITE

Charge Of Incompetence Against Frank Horne 'Unthinkable'

Now I've heard everything! I base this on the incredible statement which appeared recently in a few newspapers that a certain Negro Republican is pulling all available wires to get himself appointed to the job held by Frank S. Horne.

If the stories I read are correct, this estimable gentleman seeks the post not on the basis of his own qualifications but on the grounds that Dr. Horne will be ousted because of "incompetence."

It is hard to believe that any person in his right mind and who knows anything at all about the job which Mr. Horne has done would dare make such a statement.

Many persons have contributed to the extraordinary gains in obtaining decent housing which Negroes have made. But no one would deny that above all others Frank Horne has done more.

He became an assistant to Mary McLeod Bethune in the National Youth Administration in 1935 and served energetically and efficiently for three years in that post.

In 1938, his services were requisitioned by Dr. Robert C. Weaver as his assistant in the U. S. Housing Authority when that agency was created and put under the leadership of Nathan Straus, the most unqualified opponent of racial segregation and discrimination in housing who has ever served in Washington.

When Dr. Weaver resigned in 1940, as head of the USA race relations service Frank Horne succeeded him and in 1948, became assistant to the administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

So ably has he served in all his posts that recently Albert M. Cole, the new administrator of the HHFA, publicly paid high tribute to Dr. Horne when he testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee. In view of the fact that Mr. Cole as a member of Congress, FHA manual of recommendations to developers of real estate projects that they incorporate restrictions and was not enthusiastic about publicly assisted housing, Dr. Horne takes on added significance. One of the most commendable aspects of Dr. Horne's service is that he has consistently and persistently fought for racial integration in all federally aided housing. This commentator has seen him in action in many conferences during the past 18 years when a would have kept quiet for fear of losing their jobs or influence. Many others in similar position would have chosen the course of letting the better part of discretion be the better part of valor so far as the views of his

superiors in office on race were concerned.

I never saw Frank Horne yield one iota of principle. Armed with the facts, he always stuck to his guns with dogged determination and high principle.

Under our party system, the Republicans are certainly entitled to jobs as victors in the last election.

However, if gains are to be made under the administration, new jobs must be opened up for Negro Republicans.

Instead of trying to displace an honest, efficient and experienced civil servant like Frank Horne, Negro Republicans — and white ones too — might well concentrate on the opening up of new positions never before held by Negroes, of which there are literally thousands.

No graver mistake could be made than to replace Frank Horne even with a man of equal integrity but who lacks his wealth of experience. It will be a sad day for minorities and for the country as a whole if politics deprived the nation of the services of one of its most valuable public servants.

With Byrnes Appointment Ike Burned Up His Quota Of Allowable Errors

Any new administration, whether it be of a small business or a national government, should be allowed a reasonable number of mistakes until it masters the job.

When an enterprise is headed by a president as popular and sincere as Eisenhower, it can gamble on being forgiven for a somewhat larger quota of blunders. But the saturation point inevitably comes.

It could be that the incredible blunder of tapping Byrnes of South Carolina — with his execrable record of implacable hostility to labor, immigrants, Negroes, damyankees and social progress of every variety — as a spokesman for a gravely imperilled democracy, may mark that saturation point.

Why was the 73-year-old, embittered, frustrated ex-luminary of world affairs chosen?

What caused the President's advisors to recommend him as a spokesman in the United Nations for the United States at the time when Asia and Africa loom in these days of Korean truce so importantly — perhaps decisively — on the world scene?

There are some who say Byrnes was named in payment of campaign pledges to grant him one more brief appearance in the spotlight he loves.

There are others who say that the GOP brain trust thought the gesture would corral Southern votes and accelerates a "two party South." Obviously, they didn't trouble to check public opinion to learn how unpopular Byrnes has become in his own state among white voters as well as Negroes.

Possibly the most charitable interpretation is that inexperienced and superficial advisors around the White House looked at Byrnes' impressive list of jobs held — Congressman, Senator, Supreme Court Justice, Assistant President, Secretary of State, Governor — and gambled that such an array of titles could make him immune to attack.

Obviously they did not check his record either in Louis Redding's brilliant dissection of Byrnes in

the April 1941 CRISIS nor in the press since then.

They failed even to remember that as recently as last year the Republican platform denounced the Yalta agreement which Byrnes in his book, SPEAKING FRANKLY, boasted of creating, and which many GOP Senators loathe.

All they saw, apparently was the wily Byrnes — one of the most skilled Uncle Toms in white face who ever operated in Washington. They did not think ahead far enough even to August 17 when the UN begins to consider what to do about Korea.

They should have remembered back seven short years to Byrnes' humiliation when he demanded "free and unfettered elections" in Bulgaria only to have the Communists throw back into his teeth the unfree and fettered elections in South Carolina.

And where does the President stand? During the presidential campaign, he declared at Chicago on September 5, 1952, "I tell you that there will never be anybody around me closely on whom I depend, whether I am a private citizen or an official, who is going to take — should I have the appointive power — what I consider to be a reactionary view about the basic tenet of our Constitution, that we are created equal regardless of race or religion or anything else."

Have those who recommend appointments to Eisenhower forgotten so soon?

This commentator's sympathy goes to Archibald Carey. Had he been nominated as a full fledged member of the U. S. Delegation instead of alternate, as had been widely predicted — had he been given the superior spot which was given to Byrnes, the U. S. Delegation would have been in a magnificent position to answer Soviet attacks.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee used Mr. Carey's nomination as an alternate delegate to atone for the miserable and inexcusable appointment of Byrnes.

Sorry, gentlemen, it's not enough!

Walter
WHITE

Walter
WHITE

Good People Of Both Races Rarely Meet This Retards Progress

Thoughtful Americans on both sides of the racial fence know dians too) for sins they themselves committed. My advise to growing out of segregation is the you would bt tell your colored audiences when you speak in public to quiet looking for FEAR. Quit thinking someone is out to get them. Tell them to try to hide their inner suspicions and believe we are not their enemy. Tell them to look out from within their soul and in their soul express their thoughts with faith in their own self-respect and believe they are created by and therefore are a part of God. Therefore they can be no less than God, Creator.

Sincerely,

Because of this I want to share with readers of the Defender an interesting letter from a white woman which was written at 6:00 a.m. after she had read an article I wrote for the Saturday Evening Post on Detroit. Here it is.

"Dear Mr. White:

I just finished reading the article written by you in July 18th Saturday Evening Post. It's 6:00 in the morning! I had no writing paper, so I clipped off the piece of dresser drawer liner to write on!

"I wanted to write you while my thoughts on the subject of your article was keen and my own ideas are bubbling. I've traveled a great deal these past 12 years. I've spent several weeks at a time in nearly all of the important cities in all but 8 of the 48 United States. As a rule when I arrive in a city I try to check in at a YWCA. The next thing I do is use city bus service and ride over various bus lines. This practice has given me a wide experience in judging living, rather, housing conditions in each city. Whenever possible, and if people seem cordial, I inquire about bus schedules to start conversation and ask questions of women 'seat sharers' (colored women I mean). I've had some very pleasant conversations with them. Then again I've been aware of an expression of suspicion and smoldering inner hatred in their eyes. They will reply but never commit themselves. I've never yet gotten a direct free complete answer.

"The reason I believe is distrust and fear of white people. It's no wonder since white people have

Walter WHITE

Writer Warns Not To Relax Anti-Segregation Program

Due credit should be given to President Eisenhower for the beginning he has made in fulfillment of his campaign pledges to abolish whatever remains of segregation in the armed services.

Next September the present segregation in schools which are wholly maintained, financed and conducted by army authorities at Fort Benning, Georgia, will complete the job so far as this type of school is concerned. But it is going to take determination and courage to integrate schools on army and navy posts ranging from Maryland to Texas where most of the cost is paid by the federal government but where the schools are operated by the several states.

Already the irresponsible and intransigent Herman Talmadge has denounced the President's action and threatened political reprisals.

But there are indications that Mr. Eisenhower is beginning to fight instead of accepting passively the opposition of opponents on several issues. His blast against McCarthy on the nomination of Charles Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia is the most notable instance of this to date.

It is going to take even more courage and determination to put through his anti-segregation program because the enemies of such change are more numerous, subtle and skilled than McCarthy and the small band who fought the Bohlen nomination. Most, if not all, of the Southern senators will fight the move, behind the scenes at first, but coming out into the open if necessary. As always, they will have the assistance of a good many Republicans.

Real thanks are due to Alice Donegan, White House correspondent for the Associated Negro Press, and to Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP. Mr. Mitchell has worked indefatigably for several years on this issue.

Mrs. Anna Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense during

Negro (Walter White)

It is therefore imperative that the beginning which has been made by President Eisenhower to abolish segregation must be followed up by determined and uncompromising efforts to see the job through to the finish. Any relaxation of vigilance could be exceedingly dangerous.

Walter WHITE

Writer Discloses Differences In Five Segregation Cases Before Supreme Court

So many readers have asked questions about the decisions the U. S. Supreme Court will hand down in the five school segregation cases that I want to utilize this space to answer one of them. That question is "If the court decides against segregation in one case, mustn't it decide similarly in each of the other four?"

Without in any way attempting the impossible and foolish task of predicting what the court will rule, here is a memorandum on the similarities and differences between the five cases which was prepared for me by Jack Greenberg of the NAACP Legal Staff.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CASE

The South Carolina Case, at this time, involves the issue of segregation, and that alone. When the case was first brought, relief was requested on two different grounds.

(1) The children's admission was urged on the ground that the Negro schools were physically inferior; (2) Their admission was urged on the ground that segregation itself constituted an inferiority and segregation itself was, as a legal proposition quite apart from any allegation of psychological inequality, unconstitutional.

The lower court found the schools physically unequal and ordered the defendants to equalize. It held the psychological testimony to be irrelevant and not persuasive. By the time, the case reached the Supreme Court for the second time, physical differences were inconsequential and we did not urge them.

THE KANSAS CASE

The Kansas Case differs from

the others in several respects: (1) Kansas has a permissive statute and Topeka need not segregate under the State law. In fact, many communities in Kansas do not segregate. The case was commenced under the same theories that the South Carolina Case employed. The District Court found that the schools were all physically equal. It also agreed with our social scientists that segregation compels Negro children to receive inferior education because of its psychological effects. It held, however, that to decide for us on that ground would in effect overrule PLESSY V. FERGUSON, and that such a grave constitutional step should only be taken by the Supreme Court.

THE DELAWARE CASE

The Delaware Case differs from all the others in that it was tried in the State Courts. We won in the lower court, the Chancellor finding physical and psychological inequality. However, on the ground of psychological inequality, his ruling was similar to that of the Kansas Court. He held that to give such a finding legal effect would be to overrule PLESSY V. FERGUSON. But, he, in effect, recommended that the Supreme Court do so. His ruling was upheld by the Supreme Court of Delaware, which found physical inequality, and held that the children were entitled to immediate relief and ordered their admission. The plaintiffs have been attending non-segregated schools for the past school year. We understand that in the high school, all eligible students in the community of Claymont are attending the one-

time all white high school and that there are between one and two dozen Negro children affected. We understand that in Hockessin, about six Negro children are now attending the one-time all white elementary school.

THE VIRGINIA CASE

The Virginia Case involves the same questions as the first three. It differs chiefly in that the State produced psychologists; among them Professor Henry E. Garrett of Columbia University. On cross-examination, most of these witnesses were compelled to agree that segregation was psychologically harmful; however, the court's ruling was the same as in South Carolina, the court, in part, relying upon an alleged conflict in testimony.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CASE

The District of Columbia Case differs from the others in that there was no allegation of physical inequality and no testimony was taken. In that case, it was argued that (1) there is no statutory authority to segregate in the District of Columbia and (2) if there is statutory authority, that statute is unconstitutional.

Walter WHITE

1953' Is Gross Understatement, Says White That Time Erred In 'The U.S. Negro.'

Almost every time I begin to believe that white folks have become informed enough on the ways of colored folks as to be incapable of rushing into print with grossly inaccurate conclusions, I am brought up with a jolt to find myself underestimating the capacity of presumably intelligent people to take a given set of facts, talk to a variety of informed persons and then come up with so many wrong answers.

That has happened again in the recent article in Time Magazine on "The U.S. Negro."

Time assigned two of its editors to the task of digging out the facts on the progress the Negro has made in the United States during the past decade.

Armed with ample time and apparently a generous expense account (if other persons interviewed were as expensively and graciously dined as were my wife and myself), the two travelled widely and talked apparently with a considerable number of people who, correctly or not, were presumed to be able to give authoritative information.

Both editors were free, as far as we could judge, from any taint of racial bias. We wish we could say as much about their knowledge of the subject prior to their being assigned to do the job.

Quite erroneously, I surmised that Time had chosen them on the same theory as the Carnegie Corporation had selected Gunnar Myrdal, the great Swedish social scientist, to direct his memorable "The American Dilemma"—that they, like Myrdal, would bring a fresh viewpoint to the inquiry.

Not that the Time report does not contain some excellent items of progress towards the elusive equality which the Negro has long sought and fought for. But Time leans over backwards in attributing those gains to some unnamed forces which adds up to the unknowing as being a vast moral reformation on the part of the American people.

that break in the dyke of segregation.

It records the fact that Negroes now vote to a limited degree; it does not record that it took many years of continuous agitation, much legislative effort and countless hours of countless persons to stiffen the backbone and scourge the conscience of white America, including that of the present President of the United States, to teach the United States that it could fight wars for democracy with a non-segregated army, navy and air force.

Johnson is quoted as saying that Those are some though not all Negro leaders do is make a of the errors of omission. The er-few speeches and collect money rors of commission are even less while this commentator has words explicable. The statement that put into his mouth which are not "shiny new housing developments" on the outskirts of Atlanta only inaccurate but, lifted as they are completely out of context, are were "financed by Southern whites" is not only untrue but plain silly.

Time asserts — it almost seems to chortle — that the Negro has no leaders today. What a fantastic inaccuracy! It is a measure of the Negro's growth and that of America that it is true that there is no one Negro who today is recognized and accepted as was the case in Booker Washington's day until DuBois and Trotter came on the scene. But one needs only mention a few names to demonstrate how superficial and un-understanding is Time of the leadership against odds which the Negro today is producing in diplomacy, law, medicine, science, business, literature, journalism, religion, education and sports.

These are only a few: Bunche, Hastie, Tobias, Randolph, Bethune, Mays, the three Johnsons — Mordecai, Charles and John—Robinson, Campanella, Doby, Irvin, Ellington, Calloway, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Marian Anderson, Louis Wright, Hinton, Thurgood Marshall, Loren Miller, Lena Horne, Dudley and a host of others.

Time conspicuously ignores the fact that every one of the gains which it lists resulted primarily and almost entirely to the tough, rough, expensive battle against disheartening odds made by the Negro himself. Time records the presence of Negro students in Southern graduate and professional schools; it does not record that it took more than twenty years of legal struggle paid for by nickels, dimes and dollars contributed largely by Negroes to attain

Walter WHITE

Harry Is Not A 'Has-Been', White Finds At Visit With Ex-President

unconcealed anger at the turning back of the clock on civil rights.

"And this after all the fight we have been making and victories we've won."

Mr. Truman is bursting with ideas of things to be done to achieve the goals he has set for himself.

These include the establishment of a Truman Memorial library in Missouri, writing his autobiography and working for civil rights. He confessed himself to be a little frightened at the job of writing his memoirs. But we had the feeling that he isn't too much frightened.

"I came to the Senate in 1934, served ten years there and served seven years and nine months as President—through almost eighteen of the most important years in world history.

"I'm going to tell the whole story of what happened during those years," he added in a tone which bodes no good to the reputations of those who opposed him on such issues as civil rights.

On the latter issue, he does not propose to be a side-line strategist or a Monday morning quarterback. He expressed the opinion that President Eisenhower is sincere in his opposition to second-class citizenship but is somewhat dubious as to whether the reactionaries in the Republican and Democratic parties are going to permit President Eisenhower to do very much on the matter.

With great earnestness, Mr. Truman told us, "We've got to give our total support to the President." But he did not need to tell us that neither he nor we should be expected to refrain from criticism of President Eisenhower's party nor of his own.

Mr. Truman gave enthusiastic approval and pledges of personal support to plans for stepping up the fight for civil rights.

For the time being, those plans cannot be announced because Mr. Truman doesn't want to do anything as long as Congress is in session, lest he be accused of hurting instead of helping. But

there is no doubt that Harry Truman is a long way from being a 'has-been.'

Walter
WHITE

Writer Notes Fallacies In Thinking About Education

There are four basic fallacies in the thinking — or absence of same — even of Negroes about the possible consequences of declaration by the U. S. Supreme Court that segregation per se violates the equal protection clause of the Federal Constitution. Having encountered these in various parts of the country and particularly in the South, during recent weeks, I would like to take them up here and provide what seem to be the answers. *P. 11*

The first of these is that should "Negro" schools be abolished, Negro teachers would be fired. Just the opposite has proved to be the case for a variety of reasons. The first of these is that there is a considerable and growing shortage of competent teachers all over the United States. One of the reasons is that compensation and status, particularly for white persons, is far greater in other fields of activity than teaching. As a result, many white persons who otherwise might have been attracted to the field of teaching are turning to other occupations. This trend appears likely to be continued for a number of years to come. Not because they are more competent but because their opportunities are fewer in other fields, Negro

teachers are by and large more consecrated and able than their white counterparts. As a result, many Negro teachers will be absorbed into jobs of greater remuneration and scope than has been the case within the framework of segregation. In many Northern and border states far more Negroes are hired today as teachers than was the case before segregation was abolished.

The second fallacy is that governors like Byrnes and Talmadge will legally be able to turn over public education to "private" organizations or individuals. That is impossible and stupid as to be

not million — to equalize education for Negroes and whites in the South.

So don't be disturbed by the campaign of fear and smear which the segregationists are industriously waging. Nail their falsehoods in your own thinking and in that of anybody else you talk with.

Walter
WHITE

Conference With Taft Reveals Widening Schism In GOP Ranks On Inauguration Eve

A 40-minute conference between Senator Robert A. Taft, now Majority Leader of the U. S. Senate and some 20 representatives of church, labor, fraternity and sorority, was held on Friday afternoon, a few of each succeeding Senate and no Senator elected since 1789 has had any say about the Senate rules.

They said that in Cairo, Ill., which is just about as southern in its mentality and other groups has re-atmosphere as Jackson, Miss. or Mims, Fla. They bombed the Republican Party even before homes of Negro leaders and ar- President-elect Eisenhower is in-

rested a number of them, includ- ducted into office.

ing two members of the national staff of the NAACP. But in the meantime, white school children were going out of their way to welcome their future schoolmates, especially a very good football player and a drum majorette. The same thing will happen when the Supreme Court outlaws segregation either in the current cases or at some future date, particularly because the South fears as it does nothing else the power of the Federal Government which will be behind the Supreme Court decisions when they are handed down.

And, finally there is the absurd threat to abolish tax-supported education. There isn't a chance of this occurring, even though the threats will continue to be made in a highly improper attempt to intimidate the Supreme Court. Faced with the choice of having their children attend mixed schools or denied an education altogether, white parents will join with colored parents in driving out of office any politician who attempts such an insane move. Another factor which is increasingly recognized by taxpayers even in the most remote areas of the South is the fact that it would cost between \$53 and \$100 billion —

Article I of the Federal Constitution clearly provides that "each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings." The House of Representatives since 1789 has at the beginning of each session adopted by majority vote rules for the conduct of the business of that session. But since 1789, the Senate has voted automatically to be governed by the rules of preceding Senates.

As a result, the dead hand of tradition has held in its iron grip

of the Senate that a number of Senators, despite campaign pledges, switched their votes. Senator Taft maintains that he can get the 64 votes necessary under the Wherry-Russell cloture rule to stop a filibuster.

But no one expects such action, even if possible, on any measure which is really effective, such as an FEPC with enforcement powers, an anti-mob violence law which would reach bombings like that of the late Harry T. and Harriette Moore, or an effective anti-poll tax or anti-segregation statute.

There are others who believe that Senator Taft is afraid of General Eisenhower and fears that the new President will ask the Congress for measures which Taft and Russell do not approve. These persons believe Taft's action on the matter of rules was taken to block General Eisenhower from effective power over legislation.

Whatever the motives which moved Senator Taft, he made it clear that the alliance of the right wing of the Republican Party with the Southern Democrats, whether the latter be Dixiecrats or Russellites, is more important to the GOP—or at least Taft's wing—than the support of millions of Americans who want the federal government to stop talking and to act against racial and religious bigotry.

When Walter Reuther of the UAW-CIO asked Senator Taft about the reputation and the conscience of America, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Senator Taft tartly replied, "Conscience has nothing to do with rules of the U. S. Senate."

It now becomes distressingly clear that the breach between Taft and Eisenhower is as wide as it was at the Chicago convention and that a struggle for power between the two wings of the GOP at this very perilous stage of national and world history is about to be waged. What that portends for the nation and for the world is any man's guess.

Dot. 1-17-53

But such is the reluctance to antagonize Senator Taft's and the right wing Republican leadership

Walter WHITE

FBI Loyalty Check Puts More Emphasis On Membership Than Job Qualification

One of the most revealing — and possibly most unfortunate — indices of contemporary thinking about government has been noted during recent weeks in the inquiries which have been made about possible appointees to public office. *Dependa*

Several persons in the incoming administration as well as agents of the FBI have come to my office to ask searching questions about this individual or that one.

To the best of my knowledge and opinion I have answered the queries. In at least one instance, such replies have required exercise of considerable Christian charity, since the individual concerned has been publicly critical of the NAACP and some of its officials. But because the individual is a person of complete moral integrity and loyalty, I told my questioner just that.

But what I started out to say is that the bulk of the questions dealt not with the ability of the person to do a job but instead were searching queries as to whether or not he had ever been associated with any organization and segregation and has signed statements of protest — a few of which might later them unwisely because the originators of the statements turned out to be Communists or fellow-travelers. For doing so his Attorney General, the Un-American Activities Committee, Senator Joe McCarthy, the Jack Tenson's career now is in jeopardy. Only his own courage and the American Legion or the Daughters of the American Revolution saved Rev. James Robinson of the Church of the Master in New York City when the State Department recently demanded he be re-selected for government jobs on the basis of his not having joined charged, he had spoken at meetings of allegedly subversive groups ten or more years ago.

No sane person would question that one is somewhat dismaying. A young Negro woman recently for a moment the absolute necessity of thorough but reasonable checks on the loyalty of passing a written examination, and fair checks on the loyalty of any citizen before he is employed by the Federal government or she would dance with a white private employer.

But the current climate of opinion where negativism about human problems is considered the highest recommendation for em-

white applicants if they favor a Federal FEPC or have ever entertained Negroes in their homes or been guests in the homes of Negroes.

Things have come to a serious pass when employment or non-employment depends not on one's education, training, industry or executive ability but on spurious, prejudice-ridden "loyalty tests" which have absolutely nothing to do with one's loyalty.

Walter WHITE

Truman's Report On Immigration Exposes Bigotry And Weaknesses In McCarran Act

For 75 cents you can buy from the Superintendent of Documents, some Negroes is illustrated by Washington 25, D. C., a 319-page document which will tell you better than any other book what American immigration policy for the past sixty years has done to the Orient and other parts of the world. *Dependa*

The extremes to which such inquiries are affecting the lives of U.S. Government Printing Office, several recent cases. One of them is that of a government employee whose own loyalty record is spotless. But recently he received a questionnaire asking him if he is a person of complete moral integrity and loyalty, I told my questioner just that.

part in, among other things, Japan's participation in World War II and China's choice of the Soviet Union as an ally instead of the United States.

The document is WHOM WE SHALL WELCOME and the long anticipated report of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization. Executive Director of the commission is Harry N. Rosenfield, who, as one of the Commissioners of the Displaced Persons Commission, did one of the most humane and efficient jobs of recent history, although wholly inadequate attention was given to it, possibly because there were no scandals connected with it.

Today in Washington you have to steal (and be caught with your hand in the till), be accused of subversion or charged with homosexuality to hit the headlines. Harry Rosenfield and the President's Commission avoided all three. But one goal they did collectively achieve —

Senator McCarran, stung by their exposure of the racial bigotry, bumbling, overall ineffectiveness and unworkability of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, lashed out at the Commission as being composed of "pinkos" who echoed the arguments against the

law which was presumed to be a more balanced immigration act to eliminate the contradictions of the hodge-podge aggregation of laws which Congress had enacted piecemeal from time to time.

It was heralded as a move to abolish racial discriminations and to tighten regulations to bar subversives. What happened? The new act did slightly modify the total exclusion of Asians by permitting a handful of them to enter. But at the same time it drastically altered admission of Negroes from areas such as British, French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies.

Under the old laws such immigrants, being British subjects, theoretically were admissible under the quota of the mother country which has never been more than half used for many years. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, these colonies were restricted to not more than 100 a year from each colony.

In typically cynical fashion, McCarran argues speciously in defense of his law that white people are as much discriminated against as colored ones since his new law applies to all colonial areas. Which is of a piece with the remark of the French aristocrat just before the French Revolution that all men, rich and poor alike, had the right to sleep on the quais along the Seine.

Its forced screening of seamen in American ports, its unworkability and other provisions have made the McCarran-Walter law, even before it went into effect,

one of the most loathed of laws, its implications and too basic in its effect on future American policy on "whom shall we welcome" to do more in such limited space than to urge you to read it.

You will be shocked enough,

assure you, by its revelation of

how immigration has been limited

by Congress to white newcomers from northern Europe while swarthy would-be Americans from southeast Europe, Asia and Africa were either excluded or drastically limited.

The favored nations

progressively used less and less of their

quotas as wars and other factors

kept their people at home. Mean-

while other countries, hardpressed

by unbalanced economies and

over-population, were saddled with

excess people who possessed skills

America could have used but

which were excluded by unjust

laws.

Then came the McCarran-Walter

RALPH**MC GILL****Monkey on the Kremlin Wall**

Were they listening when he talked before the United Nations?

Were the Minute Women, the "1,000 percent Americans," and all other male and female shrilly "patriotic" and Ku Klux Klan type organizations which seek to destroy the U.N. listening when President Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke?

What he did was magnificent. He skillfully put the propaganda monkey, as we say, on the backs of the Kremlin hierarchy. It's there on the ancient Kremlin wall for all to see.

He did it by saying, in effect:

"Let's each put in a share of fissionable material, place it under the direction and authority of a United Nations committee, and order them to use it in the interests of mankind and peace."

It now becomes necessary for the Kremlin to refuse or to say yes. President Eisenhower did not put any limit on the amount of fissionable material to be put on the common, international stockpile. The Russians can say they will contribute a lot, a great deal . . . or nothing at all.

They will wish to do—and likely will, do nothing. But, there is just the chance they may come through. If they do, it will mean they possess a very considerable quantity of fissionable material.

But, what remains is the monkey on the Kremlin wall. The Russians must make the next move.

The U.N.

There was a second great and

important fact in the President's feited her right to apply for, and speech.

He spoke to the United Nations.

Even Russia's Vishinsky applauded at times . . . a puzzling fact since the Soviets are not given to diplomatic courtesy.

He proposed United Nations control of the stockpile of fissionable material.

Let every thoughtful American note this well.

There are the McCarthy school members who don't want a United Nations. There are various patriotic organizations which have some chapters that have been infiltrated and taken over by ambitious women who skillfully manage to obtain resolutions condemning the United Nations. There are the Minute Women. They cry for an end to the United Nations. There are others, feverish and excited, who call the United Nations a creature of Moscow.

But, to each and all of these, Dwight D. Eisenhower has once more given the lie.

He stood before the U.N. members and talked of a proposal for peace. It was concrete. It was not in the usual double-talk of the Soviets' hypocritical laments in behalf of peace.

He proposed, of course, that the United Nations do the job outlined. And they all applauded—they all were impressed—they all were made to think.

When he does great things like this, free of McCarthy's traps, away from Jenner's snares, he is revealed as the man of promise whom the nation saw so clearly last autumn.

Choice

What the people of this country—and the world—must be made to see is that there isn't really any choice.

If there is to be peace, it must come through the United Nations. It can't come anywhere else.

So, we will either have a United Nations-managed peace, or we will have the third world war.

It's exactly that simple and that precise.

It is a great tragedy that Red China, by her cruel and vicious aggression against Korea, for-

White (Ralph McGill)

Segregation near *also known as* death: Ralph McGill

concluded, and to date the Communists, with great shrewdness have exploited successfully

ATLANTA, Ga. — "Segregation is on its way out," Editor many of these nationalistic revolutions, wrote last week in his daily column.

Anyone "who tries to tell the people otherwise," McGill continued, "does them a great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change."

Admit Segregation End

Commenting on the current segregated school cases, Editor McGill said bluntly, "What the various Southern state legislatures are doing as they busy themselves with laws to carry on good segregation, albeit legal compulsion, is admitting segregation by law is finished."

"As a matter of fact," conceded McGill, "segregation has been on its way out for a long time.

To Great Forces

"Two great forces," declared McGill, "have been at work on the problem of peace. One is secular the other religious."

"The Christian of today cannot help but wince at the full implications and the jarring clash of his creed, with discrimination against any person because of color."

An Impossible Contradiction

"To send missionaries to colored peoples and then to argue that because of the color of skin the two races may not worship the same God together is an impossible contradiction."

"It is this very fact which causes our Communist enemies, McGill warned, "to be able to present us in a bad light before the Oriental and Asiatic peoples."

Segregation Implies Inferiority

"They can say that our claims to Christian brotherhood and democracy are hypocritically untrue. Christianity cannot well afford to be on the wrong side of a moral force."

"The other influence is secular. Segregation implies inferiority," added McGill. Across two great wars now we, along with other free peoples, have preached the rights of men to be free and equal—we have encouraged long-oppressed peoples to rise."

"They have done so," McGill

RALPH

MC GILL

Little Ellick's
Gifted Finger

Alexander Stephens (Little Ellick), who later became vice president of the Confederacy, had his very life threatened and saw his once-great personal popularity all but disappear in the months before the great struggle between the states because he strongly opposed secession.

He sought to delay this unwarranted, hasty action. He was one of others of like mind throughout the deeply stirred region who saw what secession meant. Stephens, for example, predicted with great accuracy the war, the defeat, the devastation, the bitterness, the sorrow.

He was shouted down. The emotional had their way. He kept the vote close. It was not a runaway to secede. But he lost. His voice asking delay and examination, his lifted finger of caution, were lost in the mass emotions of the times.

One has a certain sympathy for the politician.

If he isn't elected he ceases to be a politician of standing. Therefore, more and more politicians seeking office, use only one yardstick—the yardstick of political effect.

Now and then one comes along like Little Ellick.

Or, like Grover Cleveland who, when confronted with a decision and a warning that to act would cost him votes, said "Damn the votes, go ahead."

But this kind doesn't come along very often.

The Schools

It is a rather foreboding thing which some of the Southern states propose in their preparation to live without a segregation law.

It is to abolish their school systems.

That would mean the universities and their various branches would close. The public schools, grade and high, also would shut their doors.

Replacing them would be a system of private schools. The states would not directly establish them. The states plan to provide each child with a sum of money to go to school. Private groups would then, to harvest the cash, set up private schools. The state would insist on "standards," but the state could not do so officially.

Put down on paper it has a certain logic. A persuasive sort of argument is possible.

But, it won't work. It can't work. Quite inevitably, and with no other possibility, it can only degenerate into a political mess . . . and a worse educational mess.

Experience

We have just been through something like the plan proposed. This was the GI schools. Those who had served in the armed forces were given sums of cash to go to school. All over the nation private schools mushroomed. They, too, were to meet certain standards. Few did.

Many of them became national scandals. Every state had its share of those which were rackets to get the money.

We had beauty schools, repair shop schools, radio and TV schools, mechanical schools, chiropractic schools—and many more. Some were, of course, legitimate and did a job. But federal surveys found that over half of them were "quicks" to get the money.

A state's task—to supply each child with money—would be impossible of administration. If all the states discussing such a plan carry it out there will be several million children to care for.

There will be quickie schools which can claim political influence. It will be possible to get

the money quicker if one goes to certain schools.

There is also the matter of credits. It is absurd to think graduates of a quickie school will be admitted to a first-rate university. Teachers who have ability will exercise common sense and go to other states where there is tenure and retirement on a workable basis. There is much more to say. This is enough to indicate the grim outlook. But, we will plunge ahead—and later undo what now will be done in haste.

RALPH

MC GILL

Wash Brains
Or Else!

An incident in the university of Athens has blown into a quite national news story because, while relatively obscure, it is in the Peron-La Prensa newspaper pattern, or if one wishes to go back a few years, to the thought-control methods of the Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin regimes.

This time it is the student newspaper and youthful idealism, integrity and honesty which have come up against dictatorial politics and—as usual—idealism and youthful honesty have been kicked in the teeth.

The editors of the university newspaper commented in the most general terms on the Supreme Court case dealing with racial segregation and called for calmness and a rational attitude, rather than one of harsh and unreasoning criticism likely to bring on violence.

This led to Mr. Roy Harris, most influential of the University

Board of Regents, and for 20 years a legislative figure and the nearest thing to a state political boss the state has had, moving into action. Regent Harris apparently thinks the white race is so lacking in racial pride and integrity it soon would be reduced to a mulatto status if segregation is lifted, and he moved in against the student editors in his own publication.

Language

Writing in the cultured, courteous manner the most powerful regent of a great university system would be expected to use in addressing students of his alma mater, Mr. Harris wrote of the editors as a "little handful of sissy, misguided squirts."

"Every time I see one of these little sissy boys hanging around some college, the more I think every one of them ought to be made to play football," he wrote. "But the time has come to clean out all of these institutions of all Communist influences and the crazy idea of mixing and mingling of the races which was sponsored in this country by the Communist Party."

To be sure, none of the editors had suggested that there be any mixing and mingling, and their ancestry, while for generations springing entirely from the red clay of their native state, is no redder than Mr. Harris' politically. They are Americans and they don't like for either Regent Harris, Mao or Malenkov to tell them what they must think.

But what irritated Regent Harris was conformity. Or lack of it. It apparently annoyed him that any students of the state should not think as did he and so he ordered them into line, as follows:

"The state of Georgia pays a big price to educate its college students. If the state is willing to spend this money it has the right to control what is taught and what is done at the university."

Warning

This was a plain warning to the faculty and students to hurry to the educational fountain

and wash their brains free of anything which doesn't conform to Regent Harris' policies or, as they say, else.

To be sure, there isn't enough communism at the university to put in an eyeglass. Indeed, there isn't any at all.

It is a sad story, not so much because of the vulgar and unfair attack on decent young men, but because political leadership of a sort always assumes it can crush truth or ideals. When idealism encounters this sort of monstrous political brain-washing and thought control, it reacts as it should—it resists the political dictation which produces such attitudes and determines to do something about it. In all other countries under totalitarian thought and press control, the underground work of opposition is carried on by students. It was true in Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy and it is true in Russia today. The young people are not going to have pressed down upon their brow the crown of thorns of prejudice, fanaticism or political oppression.

The editors resigned, of course. The faculty is humiliated and ashamed. And all concerned have learned a bitter lesson of what can happen when politics can dominate the teaching and the press of any school anywhere.

RALPH

MC GILL

Notes on
Segregation

Recently I talked to an old and wise man, a successful writer of books—so successful that he can afford to live on a farm. Also, I talked with a young, able and ambitious young Negro

newspaper man, with a wife and children to clothe, house and feed.

Concluded
"You don't ever solve any real problem," said the old and wise writer, with a certain resignation. "We will never solve, for example, the race problem. All you do with real problems is to ameliorate them until they cease to be problems. The net result depends on how often you ameliorate them." 2-53

The young Negro newspaper man, Southern born, well educated in Northern schools, but with a real devotion to the South and *old fashioned place* is here, said to me:

"I can explain segregation to Negro friends when I go back north on a visit. I can explain it to myself. My wife can explain it to me. But neither one of us can explain it to our eight-year-old boy."

Here he put his finger on what is, for the Negro at least, the crux of an old and painful issue. Legal segregation is, for him, a stigma imposed on him and his family by law in a land which stands for full citizenship. There is no way to avoid this fact and that is why it is on its way out.

The Court

One of the most difficult facts of race relationships is lack of opportunities for either one to know or learn what the other feels or wants.

A Negro teacher said to me: "I know that I do not speak for the NAACP or its official stand. But I believe here in the South the average Negro, even the intellectual, would be pleased to see the Supreme Court, in its decision, declare segregation to be unconstitutional, and thus remove the stigma, but at the same time give the nation plenty of time to work out the effect of that ruling."

"I do not believe," he said, "that many white Southerners realize how steadily the Negro population of their region has been declining. Furthermore, I do not think it likely they see how industrialization is more or less fixing the population districts. The fact there is often violence over housing means not at all that Negroes are moving into a new area, but that an old, long-established one, is expanding."

Question

"What if," he asked, "because of population districts, the children of both races should continue peacefully to attend separate schools, without being compelled to do so by law? If the accommodations actually are equal, and there is no compulsion, resentments would tend to lessen. In the South at least, there would be little objection, and on the part of many an actual preference, for separate schools. It is the stigma of a law which says 'inferiority,' not the fact of separation, to which there is so much objection."

How much he represented popular Negro opinion, I don't know. He thought it was considerable.

As new smokestacks continually stain the Southern skies, our economists and sociologists recall that once before, in the days when Henry Grady was called "Spokesman of the New South," and when he went into the offices of the tycoons of great wealth in the East pleading for capital to be invested in the South which would produce jobs, the South put her hopes on industry.

Then there were too many weights to be carried. There were the freight and tariff laws; the race problem, the static one-crop system, lack of transport, and one-party politics. It didn't come off. But, now it seems to be more or less assured. It burgeons.

Industrialization has wrought many changes, and will bring more. One of its changes is obvious—the easing of the rougher edges of segregation in housing, schools and standards of living.

Now, the Eisenhower administration has intervened against segregation. But not even a court can "solve" it.

We aren't solving the problem—we are ameliorating it.

RALPH MCGILL

To Inform, Not Inflame



This is another piece about segregation and the future. It is written out of a sense of duty as a citizen and, more especially, as a newspaperman, believing newspapers exist to inform—not to inflame or deceive.

Also, it is no good sweeping things under the rug. Someone later on always lifts the corner.

Concluded
No one knows what the court will do, but we can assume since it obviously is not constitutional to discriminate against any citizen, that the court very probably is

going to declare against segregation. 2-11-53

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The Court

First of all, the nation generally must understand the court's position. A great many persons, not wilfully intending to do their own country harm, have spoken foolishly about the Supreme Court of the United States.

Some have said, and continue to say, the court is trying to force mingling of the races. That isn't true.

The court isn't ever trying to say what is right and wrong about segregation. It is confronted, as the chief judiciary body, with the problem of determining what the

14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States meant, when ratified, and what it means now in the light of past decisions in a society which has never stood still.

The justices are not trying to force anything. Now, the net effect of their decision may be to bring about entry of Negro children in some few schools. But, what we as Americans living by law must recognize is that this is not the intent of the court. It is required to determine the meaning of a delicate constitutional point of law. The court would be happy not to have this duty. He who accuses the court of "seeking to force" something is damaging the greatest bulwark of our way of life.

'Force'

Now, we come to another point.

It follows naturally, though obscurely because of bad reporting, out of a question put during the arguments by Justice Jackson. He wanted to know whether it were true that local customs could perpetuate segregation where local people wanted it—and if a generation of law suits might not ensue before the issue were resolved.

It must be understood that if the court holds against segregation, only those states which appeared before it are bound—Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware and Kansas.

There is also assurance that they will be given a period of time, if they lose their cases for orderly transition. A year is proposed and may be extended if deemed necessary.

At any rate, only these four states will be bound. The others will know the answers, but can wait until a suit is filed, or confirmed.

Now, here is a most important fact.

The court not only isn't seeking to force anything—being required only to interpret the Constitution and any laws in conflict—the court won't even be interested in enforcement of its ruling where the question isn't legally raised.

In other words, should the ruling go against the states involved, it would still be entirely legal for school districts to retain separate schools if those involved concurred. Therefore, if the Negro citizens should say, in effect, in the event of a ruling against segregation, "We objected to the law

because it was a stigma of inferiority. We are perfectly satisfied with separate schools so long as they are equal"—the court would not object in the slightest. It will still be possible, even in the states affected by an adverse ruling on their position, to have separate schools where those concerned agree to them.

If politicians and hotheads will stop talking violence, we can meet this issue as a civilized people.

McGill Spotlighted by Time

31a white
Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, who recently wrote in his column that "segregation by law no longer fits today's world," is pictured and quoted at length in the ~~section~~ *press* section of the ~~current~~ issue of Time magazine.

Time notes that McGill has "long steered an enlightened but discreet course" on the question of segregation in Southern public schools. But in his recent column, the Constitution editor "spoke bluntly," the magazine says.

"Segregation is on its way out," McGill is quoted. "And he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change." 2-5

Wright Bryan, editor of The Atlanta Journal, is pictured in the ~~press~~ section of the same issue of Time which reports the appointment of Bryan as editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. Time reviews Bryan's career on The Journal.

RALPH white 3/a MC GILL

One Day It Will Be Monday



Days come and go, and Monday is among them, and one of these Mondays the Supreme Court of the United States is going to hand down a ruling which may, although it is considered by some unlikely, outlaw the South's dual school system, wholly or in part.

It is a subject which, because of its emotional content, usually is put aside with the remark, "Let's don't talk about it. If people wouldn't talk about these things they would solve themselves."

It is an old reaction, best illustrated by "Gone With the Wind's" Miss Scarlett O'Hara who, when confronted with a distasteful decision, pushed it away with the remark, "We'll talk about that tomorrow."

But "tomorrow" has an ugly habit of coming around.

I believe it a fact that the average citizen doesn't yet have any idea that such a decision is possible, or that everything indicates ~~that a decision~~ one way or the other is close at hand.

So, somebody, especially those who have a duty so to do, ought to be talking about it calmly, and informatively.

Effect

Whatever happens, for some years the majority of Southern Negro children will continue to go to separate schools. There will be evasive actions and legal tests. In many communities the wiser Negro leadership, with segregation no longer sanctioned by law, will be content to maintain separate schools until public opinion accepts it.

The Cases P. 1

The issue of segregation in schools is before the court in five cases involving South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas and the District of Columbia. There are 13 other states which would be affected.

All of these cases are brought on the basis of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the

United States which forbids a state to adopt any legislation "which shall abridge the privileges" of any of its citizens or deny them "equal protection" under the law.

In 1896 the Supreme Court held that "separate but equal" facilities met the demands of the 14th amendment. Failure to meet the requirements of this decision in the years that followed now has the states involved raising taxes and spending hurriedly in an effort to satisfy the "separate but equal" phase of the 1896 decision.

But, the present complaints each contend that separation itself constitutes a condition of inequality and does, in fact, abridge the privileges of colored citizens.

This, in brief, is the legal background.

The Supreme Court cannot fail to appreciate what it would mean suddenly to overturn customs and traditions, as well as a former decision by the court, all of which have had the tenure of more than half a century.

The court may very well rule that in the grade schools there is no question of "prestige," such as exists in a long-established professional or graduate school, and leave to the states the decision as to what they will do about segregation in that field.

The court can reflect the new administration policy and eliminate the dual system entirely, or, though it is doubtful, simply reaffirm the decision of 1896.

There is yet another possibility—and an important one.

The court can rule segregation unconstitutional—but allow the states affected a period of years in which to work out procedures satisfying the court's decision.

The pattern of segregation has changed radically in the past 20 years. It is often confusing in its startling contradictions. Nowhere in the South does it follow hard and fast rules. It continues slowly to break down at the edges. But, for a long time, by gerrymandering, by abolition of school systems and other methods, separate schools will be maintained.

The vital point is—there is no reason for violence, whatever the decision. Leadership everywhere in the South must talk about this and make it clear. Anger and violence solve nothing.

RALPH white 3/a MC GILL

A Pebble in the Christian Shoe?



A Virginia-born bishop, the Most Rev. Vincent Waters, has ended racial segregation in all Roman Catholic churches in North Carolina.

In the week that has passed since that edict, other Catholic and all Protestant churches have been feeling the tremors from the Carolina hills. Privately, a spot check survey indicates there is majority approval, with some slight dissent. The Catholic church has had no advice from Rome. Authorities in each diocese may act as they wish on the matter. The various Protestant groups, some of which also provide for local authority, are perhaps the more disturbed.

The North Carolina decision touched a raw nerve end in the Christian church, both Catholic and Protestant. That worship of God should be segregated, thus

implying a similar division in Heaven, is abhorrent against the basic tenets of the Christian faith as to trouble all but the most thoughtless.

Bishop Waters did not concern himself with this raw nerve end. Indeed, he set it quivering by saying: "... all special churches for Negroes will be abolished as lending weight to the false notion that the Catholic church, the mystical body of Christ, is divided."

Pebble

As one Protestant religious leader said, in private discussion, "That decision is the cloud in the sky—hardly larger than a man's hand. There should be no division of worship within the Christian church. This is the pebble which will start the avalanche—though to be sure the pebble may roll quite a ways."

In Washington, D. C., the Rev. J. B. Trenelly, secretary of the Commission for Catholic Missions Among Colored People and Indians, said that the Church was experiencing a "steady growth" among Negroes. It is not sensational, but it continues.

One of the strengths of the Catholic church is that it thinks in terms of centuries. It does not seek converts with seasonal revivals or campaigns.

It likely will surprise the average person to learn there are about 425,000 active Negro Catholics in the United States, and that of this membership more than half is in the Southern states. While the Catholic church has interested itself with Negro membership since Colonial days, it has been in the last 30 years that the work has become more effectively organized. Because of this early history, Louisiana has the largest membership of any Deep South state, a total of 141,378. Since the early influences were along the Gulf Coast, Alabama and Mississippi have relatively large totals of Negro communicants, 11,000 and 5,710, respectively.

South

Active membership of other typical Southern states shows Virginia with 4,500; North Carolina

3,000; Georgia, Florida and South Carolina with about 3,000 each. The gains are slow, but steady. Florida, for example, has a gain of about 1,000 in the past 10 years. Atlanta has one of the largest single churches, Our Lady of Lourdes, with a membership of almost 600.

Catholic schools and churches concerned with the physical and spiritual welfare of the Negro exist in 38 states in surprising numbers. Schools, with an attendance of more than 70,000, are attached to the approximately 500 churches maintained for "the special benefit" of Negroes. Of these, more than 295 are in the South. The Church maintains exclusively for Negroes 80 high schools, 12 boarding schools, a college, one theological seminary, 22 institutions for industrial training and care of orphans and delinquents, 10 hospitals, 20 medical clinics, two homes for the aged, one for incurables, and 22 social welfare centers with nurseries, etc.

The North Carolina pebble already has become a rock in the shoe of all Christians, Protestant and Catholic alike.

RALPH

MC GILL

The Governor And a Picture



Recently the Pittsburgh Courier, a Negro weekly, along with other papers, published a picture of Gov. Herman Talmadge shaking hands, and officially welcome to the state, the president of

Georgia

This, I trust, brings to a long-held convention in Georgia and other states which originated as a gesture to come the president of the Negro Elks, then beginning a convention in the capital city of Georgia and other states which previously had sent the organi-

zation of invitation to only what is required of their confers no knighthood by its office or position, and their perclasp. Nor does it establish any sonal concept of good manners grade of social protocol. The also is the duty of all persons handshake is merely a greeting. It also is the duty of all persons to participate. Surely, there is no person of influence opinion to participate in public meetings which good manners and good will who have for their purpose the prog-will object. The Governor was and its insti-exact right.

Progress

Those interested in removing

right hand contained no weapon,

will be especially
the Governor's
aking this stand a
practice
heretofore common in the state
and the South—namely, the cir-
culation of photographs of citi-
zens who might have, in the
past, in an official capacity as a
church or commencement
speaker, a candidate for office,
as holder of public office, or as
a participant in a public discussion,
appeared with a Negro or
Negroes and in this capacity
been photographed and the pic-
ture published in the daily
press.

For many years sources us-
ually anonymous have busied
themselves during each state
campaign to send such pictures
through the mails, and to leave
them in hotels and other public
places. Invariably there has
been published with them dis-
torted statements, often vile,
and always false. They were
wildly inflammatory appeals to
the worst sort of racial preju-
dice, pandering to the basest
mentalities.

They rarely had any appreci-
able effect. A person who would
be influenced by this sort of
propaganda would, of course,
like those employing it, be lost
to reason and slave only to prej-
udice. Therefore, these hate pic-
tures almost always ended up
like the Biblical parable of the
seed sown on barren ground.

Example

But, the sort of mind which
believed in such measures per-
sisted. Now, every thoughtful
citizen will be glad the Governor
has taken a sensible, necessary
and proper step and has, by an
example of good manners, put
an end to the practice.

For a time the Governor's
own political paper was under
the influence of someone who
sought and used such pictures.
For some time, too, the Gover-
nor would, in the course of his
duty, greet heads of the Negro
schools, ministers, and so on. In
some instances troopers pre-
vented any photographs of these
normal, routine acts. In others, a
picture was refused.

Now, the Governor has forth-
rightly rejected all such un-
worthy and always unnecessary
subterfuge. We trust this also
ends a political practice which
has long disgraced our state.

RALPH MCGILL

The Issue of Segregation



This month—
November—is
the one in which

the nation officially begins to read, is a basic one. On its move toward face none can object. It merely prescribes that all persons born Supreme Court or naturalized in the country are citizens of it and that their privi- ple or com- leges and immunities may not be abridged by the action of any constitutional state. It further provides no

sue of segrega- tion, because of color, in the life, liberty, the pursuit of hap- piness, without due process of public school

Some months ago the court law, or equal protection of the asked attorneys on both sides to laws. Those who seek an end to provide additional information segregation ask the court to interpret this to mean that segre- gation is an abridgement of

On December 7-8, unless otherwise ordered, the oral argu- ments will be made.

Since the court's request for additional information and argu- ment, which it will study before hearing oral argument, Chief Justice Vinson has died and been succeeded by former governor of California, Earl Warren. There is no one he can or should

not sit and join in judgment. Since the case is argued. There is, of course, the possibility he might wish to disassociate himself from it since it was initiated before his appointment. But there will be no valid reason for criticism if he associates himself with the decision.

The 14th Amendment was introduced in April, 1866. All Southern states, save Tennessee, where radicals held office, rejected the amendment. In 1866 the radicals won control of Congress. Under Stevens the South

done the work of legal research was put under military rule and for those who seek removal of enough of the captive state gov- ernments, with most of the white voters disfranchised, affirmed position. A great many persons, not wilfully intending to do this took place July 28, 1868. So their own country harm, have odious were the methods used in spoken foolishly about the Supreme Court of the United States. In other words, should the ruling go against the states involved, it would still be entirely legal for school districts to retain separate schools if those involved con-

Amendment, and interpretation this one "What evidence is there of it. The various legal re- that the Congress and state eg- searchers have been seeking allislatures, in approving it, under available information, down to stood it to mean abolishment of the smallest fragment, which segregation, or vice versa? might tend to support their re- spective theories as to the intent of the persons who wrote the amendment, the congress and the legislatures which adopted it.

There is no plain answer. All who dealt with it are long dead. There is obvious contradiction, as previous Supreme Court rulings have revealed.

The 14th

The 14th Amendment, as it officially begins to reads, is a basic one. On its move toward face none can object. It merely prescribes that all persons born Supreme Court or naturalized in the country are citizens of it and that their privi- ple or com- leges and immunities may not be abridged by the action of any constitutional state. It further provides no

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The court isn't even trying to curred. Therefore, if the Negro say what is right and wrong about citizens should say, in effect, in segregation. It is confronted, as the event of a ruling against seg-regation, with the chief judiciary body, with the regation, "We objected to the law problem of determining what the because it was a stigma of in-14th Amendment to the Constitu-feriority. We are perfectly satis-faction of the United States meant, fied with separate schools so long when ratified, and what it means as they are equal—the court now in the light of past decisions would not object in the slightest, in a society which has never stood It will still be possible, even in the states affected by an adverse

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'Force'

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flame or deceive.

Also, it is no good sweeping things under the rug. Someone later on always finds the corner.

No one knows what a court will do, but we can assume since it obviously is not constitutional to discriminate against any citizen, solved.

that the court very probably is going to declare against segregation by law. All over the world only those states which appeared the tide runs that way. So do local people wanted it—and if a generation of law suits might not ensue before the issue were re-

settled.

It must be understood that if the court holds against segregation, only those states which appeared the tide runs that way. So do

Christian teaching and the general concept of man as one who

earns his place by character and deeds, not color. Until the

court decides, we can only as- sume. There was strong argu-

ment on the school segre-

gation. Certain members of the court asked specific questions concerning the problems created by concentrations of population.

But, the assumption is the other way.

At any rate, only these four states will be bound. The others will know the answers, but can wait until a suit is filed, or confirmed.

Now, here is a most important fact.

The court not only isn't seeking to force anything—being required only to interpret the Constitution and any laws in conflict—the court won't even be interested in enforcement of its ruling where the question isn't legally raised.

Some have said, and continue to say, the court is trying to force it would still be entirely legal for mingling of the races. That isn't school districts to retain separate schools if those involved con-

Argument

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The Supreme Court now has asked, among other questions,